

Language Learning

A Journal of Applied Linguistics

Volume XI, Numbers 1 and 2

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Research Club in Language Learning

Editorial

ENGLISH TEACHING IN THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

Annis Sandvos
U.S. Information Agency

The teaching of English as a foreign language has become one of the most important and far-reaching activities supported by the United States Information Agency in many parts of the world. The annual enrollment in binational centers and language institutes has grown from 24,500 in 1949 to over 180,000 in 1960, and attendance at seminars or workshops for teachers of English has risen from 245 teachers in 7 seminars in 1949 to approximately 6500 teachers in 80 seminars in 1960.

The numbers are significant as they reflect the increasing desire of foreign nationals to learn English, but the development has not been in numbers alone. There has been an increasing realization of the role which the learning of English may play both in enlarging understanding of American ideas and institutions and in providing a tool for people of other nations to lift themselves economically and socially. Also, as in the teaching of foreign languages both in the United States and abroad, the techniques used in teaching English have continued to change in the past few years.

The application of linguistic analysis and the utilization of recording and playback equipment have greatly affected attitudes toward language and methods of teaching. However, practical experience abroad of a large corps of language teachers has been the most vital factor in the growth of English teaching in USIA. The program extends from Chile to Nepal and from Italy to Laos, from the teaching of children to the teaching of cabinet ministers, from classes conducted at a leisurely pace of two hours a week over a period of years to intensive six-month courses with thirty hours of classroom instruction a week, from provincial centers with 250 students to urban institutions with 6000 students, from small non-professional "conversation classes" to highly concentrated teacher-training courses conducted in cooperation with ministries of education. Teachers are often asked to conduct courses by radio and television, to prepare or adapt textbooks,

to set up classes for special groups of doctors, nurses, news-men, government officials. Out of this vast experience has come a realization that it is impossible to harness or standardize such widely divergent programs but that there are certain basic principles which should guide the work of all USIA English teaching specialists sent abroad.

First and foremost, the American who goes abroad, however well equipped he may be professionally, should want, above all, to teach people, not just a language. His skill cannot be confined to linguistic prowess and his interests to "reforming it altogether." Most important are his understanding of the people with whom he works, his recognition of their own achievements, and his desire to be useful. He must be accepted personally in the academic community as well as professionally.

Second, his convictions about language-teaching should not be so fixed that he cannot adjust to the particular aims of his students in studying English and to their special learning habits. Linguistic science has brought an increased awareness of the phonological and structural differences between languages and an introduction to the differing cultural patterns which are revealed through language. If the teacher is linguistically-trained, the knowledge he will take with him will help him understand his students' problems, both cultural and linguistic, so that he can direct their learning more efficiently, but he must remember that the results of his teaching are more important than his methods; that is, he should not be more dedicated to his erudition or his "system" than he is to teaching English. Realizing that perfection is not a practicable goal in language mastery, he will decide on the levels of achievement which can be considered satisfactory. Drill *ad infinitum* to "perfect" a difficult sound may unduly delay the student's progress toward his own tangible goal. Without sacrificing basic principles at all, the teacher may shift the emphasis, once the rudiments of the language have been learned, from speaking to reading if the ability to read technical journals is what his students want, or he may have to give extra attention to writing if his students are preparing to study in American universities.

Perhaps the most difficult lesson for American experts in the USIA program to learn has been to distinguish between their own adult teaching in binational centers and institutes and the teaching of English in secondary school systems, which they are called upon to assist through advice and teacher-training courses. The two extremes are represented by the American institute, with American teachers and American texts, and the public high school,

with prescribed curriculum, examinations, and a traditional language-teaching philosophy. The institute may hold classes for 12 or 15 students who want to gain oral facility as rapidly as possible. The high school may have classes with as many as 100 students who are required to study English and most of whom may never in their lives have occasion to speak English outside the classroom, and with teachers who themselves may not be intelligible in English. Certainly it would be pointless, if not actually discouraging, to lecture to the public school teachers on the latest findings of linguistics or the uses of the language laboratory. Here the seminar director or teacher must search for his level, first to give the teachers as full an experience as possible with the language which they are teaching, and within the requirements laid down by the central academic authority, to begin building the groundwork for increased efficiency. Although he will assuredly apply all the knowledge which he possesses in shifting the concentration from the explanations of formal grammar to experience with the language itself, he will realize that the methods which he uses in his adult classes may never be entirely appropriate for use in the high school class. With the teachers and supervisors with whom he works he must find the right way.

At the threshold of a new decade, USIA realizes that years of even greater opportunity in English teaching lie ahead. More and more ministries of education are seeking guidance in establishing curricula and developing proper materials for effective English teaching in elementary and secondary schools, and increasing numbers of economists, political scientists, engineers, doctors, and a host of other professional people, as well as government officials and teachers, are asking for the kind of English instruction that will help them in their work. The United States Information Agency recognizes that by assisting with these needs for good and effective English teaching in many parts of the world, it is performing the dual function of giving help where it is sought and at the same time increasing understanding of the history, the "ways of life," the ideals of the American people.

In the expansion and improvement of its English teaching program, language institutes are being established in the newly emerging countries of Africa, and binational centers in Latin America, the Far East, and the Near East are being strengthened. Teacher-training films are being produced for use in seminars and workshops around the world. Basic English language textbooks for elementary and secondary schools are being prepared. Examination programs are being administered to lift levels of

achievement in language and an understanding of American culture. But most important of all, USIA is continuing to develop its cadre of skilled personnel. It is the dedicated corps of course directors and teachers, some of whom have been in the field program for more than ten years, who form the backbone for and will continue to give strength and vitality to the USIA English teaching program.

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FACT AND DISTORTION IN LANGUAGE TEACHING

Hans Wolff
Michigan State University

A number of years ago, when I was something of a green-horn, a more experienced colleague taught me a 'trick' designed to facilitate the teaching of certain English final consonants to speakers of Spanish. Let us say that we had to teach a set of sentences such as following.

It's a pencil
It's a table
It's an apple

The trick consisted in distorting the data to the point where the difficult cluster /ts/ was practically eliminated; here is what we taught.

It - s'a pencil
It - s'a table
It - s'an apple

At the time, I was rather horrified at this wilful distortion of language data; /+/-junctures are phonemes, and the deliberate altering of phonemic sequences struck me as rather sacrilegious. I had to admit, however, that—to an extent—the trick did work and thus served a useful purpose. That was a long time ago; today I am no longer so easily horrified.

Ideally, what we do when we teach a foreign language in a classroom is the final step in a process which begins in the field. Ideally also, it is a process in which each step logically follows its predecessor. We begin with a large corpus of field notes, gathered—preferably—from a number of informants. This corpus is then subjected to a number of more or less rigorous operations known as linguistic analysis. The end product of these operations is what we call a descriptive grammar of the language. There follows another set of more complex and, usually, far less rigidly codified operations, the organization of the descriptive data into teachable and learnable portions. Finally, there is the actual writing of lessons in which the aforementioned 'portions' are presented in the form of actual utterance patterns,

phrases, sentences and so on (I am assuming that we are teaching the spoken language, that we are 'up-to-date,' in other words). We are now ready to walk into the classroom and start teaching. What is important about the above process is its 'straight line' nature: each step follows logically on the preceding. Ideally, we assume that there are no discrepancies between the material presented in the classroom and the linguistic evidence as stated in the descriptive grammar.

It is the purpose of this paper to show that distortions of the type described in the introductory paragraph are (1) often unavoidable, (2) frequently necessary, and that (3) the actual linguistic evidence—as stated in the descriptive grammar—is sometimes less than 100% relevant to what actually must be done in the classroom. Let me add here that I believe that these three points apply especially during the initial stages of language learning. As knowledge of the language increases, it will probably be possible, perhaps even advisable, to eliminate some distortions (see also the final paragraph of this paper).

The practical situation which provides the data for this discussion is, briefly, the following: a beginning course in Yoruba, a language of southwestern Nigeria and, as most West African languages, a tone language. The students, of many different backgrounds, have had little or no experience in foreign language learning. None have ever studied an African language before, nor any tone language for that matter. There are at present no usable texts that could be obtained commercially. Hence, the procedure which leads to classroom teaching follows, in general terms, the process outlined above. I obtain data from a Yoruba speaking informant, analyze the data, come up with descriptive statements, organize the material into teachable and learnable portions and finally write lessons which are mimeographed and distributed to the students and form the basis for classroom practice. Tapes based on the lessons are also available for laboratory drill.

Only one informant is used in obtaining data. This minor deviation from optimum procedure is imposed by the limited number of Yoruba speaking informants in general and of informants speaking the standard dialect of the Oyo-Ibadan area in particular. Actually, this unavoidable limitation has some advantages: the informant used in obtaining data is also the informant in the classroom, as well as the person whose voice is recorded on the practice tapes. The students are therefore learning one idiolect, which, at the beginning stage, is just as well.

Phonemics. Since the exact phonemic inventory of Yoruba is still, to an extent, a matter of scholarly dispute, the following should be considered a provisional list.

Vowels - 1. oral: i e ε a ɔ o u
2. nasal: ɪ̃ ã ũ (possibly ɛ̃ ɔ̃; see the discussion below)

Nasal - m n (nasals may be consonantal or vocalic; in the latter case, they occur with tone)

Consonants - b t d j k g kp gb f s ʃ h r l w y

Non-Segmental - 1. juncture: /+/
2. tone: high /ˊ/, mid /ˊ-/ or unmarked, low /ˋ/, rising /ˊˋ/, falling /ˊˋ/ (possibly only three tones; see the discussion below)

Vowels may appear short (v) or long (vv); they always appear with tone. Nasals may or may not appear with tone. Nasal /n/ has an alveolar and a velar allophone. A labio-velar allophone of /m/ is heard occasionally, but not consistently, before /kp/ and /gb/. All vowels may be nasalized after /m n/, but the degree of nasalization varies from speaker to speaker and even within one idiolect. /r/, /w/ and /y/ each have a nasal allophone [ɾ̃], [w̃], [ỹ] when occurring before nasal vowels. The phonetic realizations of the /+/-juncture need not be discussed in detail; they may include slight lengthening of vowels and, frequently, changes in tone. Other details of interest in Yoruba phonemics will be dealt with in the discussion of problems, below.

Two problems appear in the teaching of nasal vowels. One of these concerns the number of such vowels in Yoruba; the other is the possible phonemic interpretation of nasal vowels. As it happens, our informant's idiolect has three nasal vowel phonemes: /ɪ̃ ã ũ/. Other Yoruba dialects, such as the speech of Lagos, may also have a phoneme /ẽ̃/, but this is not included in our materials. However, there may be a number of dialects in which /ẽ̃/ is phonemically distinct from /ã̃/. Yoruba standard orthography makes such a distinction; this, in itself, may not be significant, but it is always possible that /ẽ̃/ is a phoneme in some dialects while in others this phone may be a phonetically quite distinct allophone of /ã̃/. Our informant, possibly influenced by spelling, is under the impression that he is making such a distinction, even though his own /ã̃/ very clearly

has only one allophone. Partly because of the phonemic possibilities in other dialects, and partly because it is intended that our students eventually get acquainted with the standard orthography (where the \tilde{a} - \tilde{o} distinction is maintained), I have decided to 'distort' the phonemic picture to the extent of using both \tilde{a} and \tilde{o} in the practical orthography employed in the lesson materials. In other words, I write two allophones of the same phoneme as if they were two different phonemes, which is, of course, a distortion. However, largely in order to counterbalance this distortion, I do not insist on a scrupulous distinction of the two sounds in actual pronunciation, but allow students to waver between \tilde{a} and \tilde{o} . The informant, of course, can not even hear the difference.

The next question is whether nasal vowels are phonemically to be interpreted as such (e.g., \tilde{a}) or as vowel + n (an). The standard orthography uses the latter solution. I happen to believe that such a solution is logically possible in Yoruba, though I am convinced that this would require a somewhat more involved series of statements than the other alternative. The latter—regarding nasal vowels as phonemes in their own right—though it does add a series of phonemes to the general list, on the whole permits us to describe Yoruba phonology in somewhat less involved terms. However—and this is one of the main points of this paper—I do not believe that the merits of one or the other solution are particularly relevant to the problem before me, which is to teach nasal vowels to English speaking students. There is no doubt that better results are obtained by writing nasal vowels as $/\tilde{v}/$ than as $/vn/$; in the latter case the student constantly has to remind himself that this is not a vowel followed by $/n/$. I believe that I should use this solution whenever teaching nasal vowel phonemes to English speaking students, no matter what the best phonemic solution might be for the particular language.

As stated above, $/w/$, $/y/$ and $/r/$ each have a nasal allophone $[\tilde{w}]$, $[\tilde{y}]$ and $[\tilde{r}]$ respectively. The standard orthography does not follow a consistent policy in writing such variants. Spellings *nw* and *ny* are used in some morphemes; nasalized $/r/$ has no special orthographic rendition. In our classroom orthography these allophones are not written. These nasalized allophones occur before nasal vowel phonemes only, and I have found that, if the student produces the nasal vowel correctly, the proper allophone of $/w/$, $/y/$ and $/r/$ is produced quite automatically.

The phoneme $/h/$ has a rather ambiguous status in Yoruba. Undoubtedly, a good many occurrences of $/h/$ in the speech of

educated persons today is the result of spelling pronunciations. Moreover, certain mispronunciations of English /h/ by Yoruba speakers would support the notion that /h/ is a highly unstable phoneme at best. Still, /h/ is heard, at least in citation forms and in slow speech of the educated. On the other hand, /h/ frequently alternates with /w/ or /y/ (depending on the following vowel) in intervocalic position. Thus, one hears *ehí* back as well as *èyí*, *ahá* (*ahó*) tongue as well as *awá* (*awó*); incidentally, this is a non-reversible alternation; /w/ and /y/ can not be converted into /h/. In normal rapid speech the forms with /w/ and /y/ are practically always heard. Given these inconsistencies, I have adopted a compromise solution: I normally write /h/, if only because the informant—in the classroom, when he is conscious of his responsibility to teach 'good' Yoruba—uses it consistently. In addition to this, however, I call the students' attention to the alternate possibility, elicit the /w/ or /y/ version from the informant and have the class practice the latter as well as the /h/ form. The informant's attitude to this procedure is one of resignation. As he puts it, "people know that they are supposed to pronounce /h/, but often they don't."

As might be expected, one of the chief problems in teaching Yoruba is the teaching of tone discrimination, on the perceptive as well as the productive level. It is here that one encounters the need for special pedagogical devices, including distortion, even more than elsewhere. Before entering into a more detailed discussion, let me state that, for purposes of effective understanding and speaking, the student of Yoruba should be able to distinguish at least five, possibly seven and at most nine pitch variants. On the question of the phonemic interpretation of these pitches scholars are at present split into two major camps which one may call the 3-tone and the 5-tone school (there are some minor schools of thought which may safely be left out of this discussion). To illustrate the seriousness of this question, let me give a few examples. It is not only a question of whether to write *ilù* or *ilú* town, *méjì* or *méji* two. If there were no more to the problem, one could easily make a statement that, when high and low syllables occur contiguously, the second syllable has a gliding tone. That would eliminate the need for /[^]/ and /[˘]/. The problem is less simple when we come to an utterance like *n-ó-rí Òjò* I will see Ojo (dashes separate bound forms). Do we indicate the morpheme meaning *see* as *rí* or *rì* or even *ṛrí*? Let me go even further and show a number of possibilities for one phrase: *good morning*. The following are some of the possible solutions.

1. káǎrô
2. kááǎrôô
3. kǎáǎrôô
4. kǎǎrô
5. ɛ-kú áǎrô / ɛ-kú ôwǎrô

Solution number 5 is morphemic and need not detain us now. The others by no means exhaust the possibilities, but they are representative. Only the 5-tone school, of course, will accept solutions 1 and 4. Let me say, incidentally, that I have no doubt that either solution is workable. For the 3-tone solution one would need a series of detailed statements about the distribution and phonetic realizations of the /+/-juncture. The 5-tone solution would enable us to say less about /+/-juncture, but it would, of course, necessitate the recognition of two additional phonemes, rising and falling tone. In either case the /+/-juncture is a phoneme. To the descriptivist, however, the important question is which of these solutions will permit the clearest, simplest (simple, not easy) and most elegant statement of Yoruba phonology. Phonemes are, after all, minimum units, and any phonemic statement must be formulated in terms of such units.

As has been said, these questions are still a matter of scholarly dispute. To the teacher of Yoruba to English speaking students, however, the question which solution is the correct one is important, but not absolutely vital. As stated above, in order to learn to understand and speak Yoruba, the English speaking student must be able to distinguish at least five different pitches: high, mid, low, rising and falling. That is, he must be able to hear whether the voice is at any of the three levels, or whether it is ascending or descending; and he must be able to control these five pitches in pronunciation. For purposes of teaching, then, the minimum number of distinctive tonal units is five; therefore, I teach the 5-tone solution, with excellent results. Naturally, if in the final analysis the number of Yoruba tonemes turns out to be three, I am undoubtedly distorting the evidence. I should, however, continue to teach five tones even then—at least on the beginner's level—for the reasons indicated above. The actual state of phonemic affairs does not appear to be 100% relevant in this case.

The /+/-juncture is included in the list of phonemes above. For obvious reasons, however, it is used very sparingly in the lesson materials. As a matter of fact, its principal use is as a morphophoneme and as a mnemonic device. For example, when a possessive morpheme is joined to a noun base in Yoruba, this results in a slight lengthening of the last vowel of the noun

base and, in some cases, in a tone change. Thus, *my child* is ɔmɔ+mi, where /+/- stands for a slight lengthening of the second /ɔ/ and a tone shift from mid to low. As it happens, the graphic reminder here actually does indicate the occurrence of a /+/- juncture, but the symbol is by no means used consistently wherever /+/- occurs. The reasons for this distortion are, again, entirely pedagogical; it seems highly inadvisable, on the beginner's level, to clutter up the transcription with too many potentially confusing elements.

Morphemics. Of the various problems encountered in teaching Yoruba morphemics I shall discuss only a few. The morphophonemics of morpheme sequences is one of these. All Yoruba forms terminate in a vowel or vocalic nasal; probably well over fifty per cent begin with a vowel. Ordinary conversational discourse is characterized by a profusion of contractions and elisions which can not be summarized in a few clear-cut statements. As a matter of fact, this is one of the most difficult features of Yoruba structure to state clearly. For this reason all such phenomena have been excluded from the first year materials, with very few exceptions. On the whole, the students learn their sentences with only the 'full' forms, even though, to a native speaker of conversational Yoruba, such utterances will seem exaggeratedly formal and pedantic. Since, during the early stages, the emphasis is on learning to manipulate certain morphemes, the casualness of the utterances has to be sacrificed so that the basic elements may be learned. This may seem strange to those who have always included patterns like *I'm going, we'll wait* or *what's your name* among the earliest patterns in the teaching of English. However, the picture is far more complex in Yoruba, especially since not only vowels but also tone patterns are involved.

The question of morpheme or 'word' separation is another tantalizing problem. Yoruba standard orthography is quite irrational here, since it more or less follows the principle that there is something of a one to one correspondence between an English word and its Yoruba equivalent. Hence, many bound forms are written as 'words' in the standard system. In our lesson materials I have adopted something of a compromise procedure. A number of bound forms always form an integral part of a major sentence constituent, such as a verb or a noun construction. These are written as prefixes or suffixes; for instance,

mo-lɔ
mo-ti-rí-i
bábǎ-mi/bábǎ+mi

I go (went)
I have seen him
my father

This works rather well, especially since students are never permitted to pause between elements connected by dashes or /+/. Other bound forms, whose distribution is less restricted, are written as 'words' in the classroom orthography. These include certain interrogatives, some demonstratives (nâ, yĩ, ũ, ni) and predicators (ni, wâ, jê). For instance,

omɔ yĩ	<i>this child,</i>
aṣṣ kpukpa nâ	<i>the (that) red cloth,</i>
kí ni yĩ	<i>what's this?</i>
níbo ni Òjò wâ	<i>where is Ojo?</i>

While there is a certain inconsistency in such a treatment—in the sense that some bound forms are written as affixes, others as 'words'—it does nevertheless reflect important distributional and functional differences between these morphemes. As a matter of fact, it is almost impossible to write Yoruba consistently without some form of distortion, unless one decides to regard the sentence as the primary unit and writes all morphemes, free as well as bound, interconnected by dashes. A good case could be made for such a procedure on structural grounds, but, for purposes of teaching and learning, this would obviously be impractical.

A number of morphemes have the segmental shape /ni/. In normal conversational style all of them are subject to the same alternation: before any vowel, but /i ɪ/, they are replaced by the phoneme /l/. An original high tone on the suppressed vowel is transferred to the following syllable; otherwise, there is no variation in tone. Here are a few examples.

kí ni o-fé	= /kí lofé/	<i>what do you want?</i>
mo-ní owó	= /mo-lówó/	<i>I have money</i>
ní ojà	= /lójâ	<i>in the market</i>

This is such a common occurrence in normal speech, and it is important that it should become automatic for the students. I therefore write /l/ wherever /i/ is pronounced. Moreover, I write it as if it were a prefix (even though, in all but the last example, it is not). This piece of distortion is a purely pedagogical device and insures rapid pronunciation, uninterrupted by pauses or hesitations. In the lesson materials the above examples appear as follows.

kí l-o-fé
mo-l-ówó
l-ójâ

Incidentally, I regard this as a strictly temporary solution. In a more advanced course I would choose the morphemic solution, write /ni/ and issue the proper morphophonemic instructions. (The above procedure is also followed in the case of /sí/, second element of a verbal compound but translatable as *to*, *toward*, which alternates with /s/ under the same conditions as /ni/).

Grading the materials, i.e., making decisions concerning the proper sequence of morphemic and lexical material to be learned, poses some knotty problems. There are two, often conflicting, aims. The first is that the student should be able, as soon as possible, to have automatic control over a certain amount of normal conversational utterances. The other is that the material should be quite simple in the beginning and slowly and logically increase in complexity. Some languages lend themselves more easily to this sort of thing than others, I believe. Yoruba appears to belong in the latter group. For instance, it is not a good idea, in Yoruba, to begin with greetings (and the proper answers to them), except for purposes of tone drill. There is a greeting for every conceivable type of activity in Yoruba, and one or more proper answers for each, depending on the situation. With numbers it is the same story: they rapidly become very complex. I well remember the kind of sequence we used to teach in Puerto Rico, even at the beginning level.

My name is María
 I live in San Juan
 I go to the --- school
 My teacher's name is Mrs. Pérez
 My mother's name is Carmen
 My father's name is José
 My mother is a dressmaker
 My father is a teacher
 My sister lives in New York

To teach an equivalent of this series to a beginning student of Yoruba would involve teaching some pretty complex material, morphemically as well as tonally. As a matter of fact, the first six to eight weeks of teaching Yoruba (at three hours a week plus laboratory) are little more than glorified tone drills; it is safe to say that students will not be able to 'handle' much in the way of conversational matter at the end of that period.

There is really only one solution to this dilemma. One is forced to sacrifice the 'every day-ness' of the material to the

need for simplicity. In Yoruba it so happens that nouns and noun constructions are simpler, both in morpheme complexity and in tonal structure, than verbs and verbal constructions. Hence, in our lessons, I have started with nouns, with only a few verb forms to construct sentences with. Naturally, this severely limits the variety of things to say, but it also limits the number of complexities and tone variation that have to be learned. Subsequently, and quite slowly, verbs and verbal constructions are introduced; it is here that one has to sacrifice conversational content to the exigencies of grading the material. Sentences like "I hit the dog with a stick" or "I went to market with my mother" are structurally complex in Yoruba, involving the manipulation of a special type of verbal construction. Even "give me some money" is morphemically far from simple.

Undoubtedly, our students will be able to produce the Yoruba equivalent of the above series at the end of one year of study. Probably, they will be able to say a good deal more. Still, their conversational range will be quite limited (in spite of the fact that this is a course in 'spoken' Yoruba, with intensive drills in class and regular lab sessions). And it will be quite a while, I am sure, before any of our students will be able to say, in Yoruba, "There was a meeting of the Security Council yesterday, in which the Nigerian delegate introduced the following resolution...".

In the preceding paragraphs I have tried to show that in language teaching one frequently finds oneself faced by the necessity of disregarding or slightly distorting linguistic facts as obtained in a descriptive grammar. Thus, Yoruba may have a 3-tone or a 5-tone system, but, to the teacher, the need for the effective discrimination of at least 5 pitches is of paramount importance. Similarly, conversational fluency in the proper cultural setting is the principal aim; nevertheless, structural differences between the language to be learned and the student's native language may be such as to force the teacher to neglect this desideratum in favor of careful up-grading of the material. Now, a note of caution is definitely in order. Distortions, adjustments, little short cuts and other pedagogical devices may be inevitable or even necessary. As I have said earlier, the structural facts may, at times, be less than 100% relevant to what the language teacher must try to accomplish. However, they are never irrelevant. Distortion, even when necessary, should never be more than what it is meant to be: a teaching device. It should be no more than a momentary deviation, a matter of pedagogical expediency. When the need for the expedient no longer exists, when the

student's proficiency has reached the point at which the 'trick' is superfluous, then we should not hesitate to discontinue its use. Sooner or later, the true structure of the language must emerge.

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TEACHING ENGLISH VERB AUXILIARIES

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One reason our son Bob, who is a senior in high school, prefers mathematics to English, I suspect, is that each problem is testable. Both student and teacher can be pinned down, and corrected, if wrong, by data and procedures which are there in writing.

English could be taught the same way, but it seldom is. The student's objection to most English teaching, if I may verbalize it for him, is that the teacher always has recourse to a hidden, unlimited set of data not available to the student for testing. Annoyance, resulting in a shift of field, is the predictable result.

This does not need to be the case, however. Problems can be designed for English like those for mathematics, in which all necessary data for finding the answer is given in the problem itself. Then the student starts off on the same footing as the teacher in solving the problem, and debates about it can be resolved without appeal to a metaphysical realm which only the teacher is presumed to control.

The following is an example.

Data:

he eats	he will be eating
he ate	he has been eating
he will eat	he will have eaten
he is eating	he had been eating
he has eaten	he will have been eating
he would eat	he would have eaten
he was eating	he would be eating
he had eaten	he would have been eating

Instructions:

Identify the auxiliaries, state their basic forms, describe the arrangements in which they occur and the modifications

which they undergo in these arrangements. Confine your observations to the data given here.

In this problem the word *eating* occurs eight times, *eaten* four times, *been* four times, *would* four times, *have* four times, *will* four times, *be* twice, *has* twice, *had* twice, *was* once, *is* once, *ate* once, and *eats* once. The student is told that these thirteen different words of irregular distribution can be reduced to four simple morphemes, each of which occurs eight times, plus the word *eat* which occurs sixteen times, giving a symmetrical pattern with every mathematically possible combination occurring.

For a bit of added interest, all the data may be repeated in appropriate combinations with the word *not*, and all combinations with *will* and *would* may be repeated again substituting *may*, *shall* or *can* for *will*, and *might*, *should* or *could* for *would*.

The answer is as follows:

1. In this problem, four auxiliaries to the verb stem are identified: *BE...-ing*, *HAVE...-EN*, a class represented by *WILL*, and *-ED*. Capital letters indicate that the form so written also appears in other, modified shapes, depending on the combination in which it occurs. Conventional spelling is used, except for some hyphenated forms, in which the hyphens indicate morpheme boundaries.

2. In the data given in this problem, *BE* of the auxiliary *BE...-ing*, modified according to the person and number of the subject (3rd singular plus *BE* becomes *is*) occur in the first order preceding (i.e. immediately preceding) the verb base; *-ing* is suffixed to the verb base. *he is eat-ing*.

3. The first part (*HAVE*), of the auxiliary *HAVE...-EN*, modified to *has* if the subject is third person, occurs in second order preceding a verb base, i.e., immediately preceding *BE*; *-EN* occurs suffixed to *BE*. *he has be-en eat-ing*. If *BE...-ing* is not present, *HAVE...-EN* occurs in the same relation to the verb base as indicated above for *BE*, (i.e., *HAVE* preceding, *-EN* suffixed to the verb base) with *-EN* modified according to the verb base involved. *he has eat-en*.

4. An auxiliary of the class of *WILL* occurs in the third order preceding a verb base, that is, immediately preceding *HAVE*. *he will have been eating*.

5. -ED 'past tense suffix' occurs, in a form conditioned by the word base involved, as an addition to the verb base, or, if there are one or more auxiliaries involved, as an addition to the first auxiliary in the string. *eat* plus -ED is *ate*. *BE* plus -ED is *was*: *was eating*. *HAVE* plus -ED is *had*: *had eaten*; *had been eating*. *will* plus -ED is *would*: *would eat*; *would be eating*, *would have eaten*, *would have been eating*. *shall* plus -ED is *should*. *can* plus -ED is *could*. *may* plus -ED is *might*.

6. If *not* is present, it occurs in second order following the subject, i.e. following the first auxiliary. If there is no auxiliary present, *do* (plus -es if the subject is third person and -ED is not present) is used between the subject and *not*. *he is not eating*; *he does not eat*. *do* plus -ED is *did*. *he did not eat*.

7. The auxiliaries and *not* may be used in any combination, that is, any one may be present or absent.

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SOUND-ARRANGEMENTS AND SOUND-SEQUENCES

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Effective foreign language teaching requires a knowledge of the significant sounds in the foreign language as well as those in the native language of the students. Such significant sounds ("phonemes") are determined according to rigorous linguistic procedure and can then be presented in tabular form according to the points of articulation and kinds of release. These sounds are often further classified into consonants and vowels, represented as "C" and "V." Each language has its characteristic consonant and vowel *arrangements*: CV, VC, CVC, CCV, VCC, etc. For the foreign language teacher, it is essential to know all the significant sounds and all the sound-arrangements in the foreign language as well as those in the students' native language.

In the oral control of a foreign language, a satisfactory production of its significant sounds is imperative. Of no less significance than such production is the mastery of its sound-sequences. For language production involves sounds in the stream of speech—not sounds in isolation. Furthermore, in learning a particular foreign language, students of different native languages with different sound-sequences have different learning problems.

I

Sapir called our attention to the importance of "phonetic patterning," which helps to explain "why people find it difficult to pronounce certain foreign sounds which they possess in their own language."¹ Sapir was referring to the allophonic relations between apparently "similar sounds" in two or more languages. Fries has pointed out that "each language has not only its own set of distinctive sound features; it also has a limited number of characteristic sequences of consonants and vowels which make up the structural pattern of syllables and words."² Fries was

¹Edward Sapir, "Sound Patterns in Language," *Language*, 1 (1925), p. 50.

²Charles C. Fries, *Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language* (Ann Arbor, 1945), p. 16.

referring to the sound-sequence relations between languages. The two words which concern us here are "sequence" and "pattern." By "the structural pattern of the syllables and words," Fries means the consonant and vowel arrangements--sound-arrangements, such as are the abstractly symbolized in formulas like CV, CVC, etc. Similar to the relationship between allophones and phonemes in a language is the relationship between what we may call "sequences" and "arrangements" in the same language.

A "sequence" is an actual, occurrent, specific sequence of specific phonemes: like the English sequences /me/ (met); /spli/ (split); /-et/ (set); /-ispt/ (lisped). An "arrangement" is a formula indicating all similar sequences in terms of "C" and "V": like the English CV- (in pit, knife, shut); CCCV- (in split, string, squirrel); -VC (in less, pit, splash); -VCCC (in text, grasped, wisps). A "sequence" consists of specific C's and V's; an "arrangement" is a class of sequences which share an identical ordering of their C's and V's.

The transcriptional symbol of a phoneme does not specify its allophones. For example: The formula "English /p/" does not specify any of three allophones: aspirated, unaspirated, or unreleased. Similarly, a given C-and-V arrangement in a language does not specify its sequences. For example: The formula "CV- in English" does not tell us which consonant is followed by which vowel: /bi/? /se/? /na/? /pu/? Yet the production of speech occurs in the specific allophones of phonemes and in the specific sequences of arrangements.

In language description the linguist aims at determining the phonemes and the consonant-and-vowel arrangements. In language production the learner must control the specific allophones and the specific sound-sequences in each of the sound-arrangements. In any language there is a limited, exhaustive list of sound-sequences in each permissible sound-arrangement. And speakers of a specific language move with freedom *within* the restricted sound-sequences of that language. For example: During winter in Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A., there is a natural phenomenon with two co-occurring meteorological features. These features are snow and rain. Native speakers of English call this phenomenon *snain* but not *srain*. The linguistic explanation is that /sn-/ occurs in Michigan English and /sr-/ does not occur.

As between languages, there can be similar and different sound-sequences in similar sound-arrangements. In other words,

two different languages can have similar sound-arrangements, with similar and different sound-sequences in each of the similar sound-arrangements. But a knowledge of the similarity and difference in the descriptive arrangements of either or both languages yields no information about the specific sound-sequences necessary for an oral control of either or both languages. For example: Both English and Thai have C-, CC-, and CCC-. This description tells us nothing about *which* specific sound-sequences occur as C-, CC-, and CCC-.

In the process of learning a foreign language, there are two sets of sound-sequences involved: the one in the foreign language and the one in the native language. In each set, there are four features that characterize each sequence. These four features are the overall arrangement, the constituent phonemes, the specific phoneme sequence, and the position of the sequence in syllable and word structure.

There may be a similarity in arrangement, in phonemes, in sequence, and in sequence position as between two languages. For example: In both Spanish and Tagalog there is the mid-front phonetically simple vowel /e/; a slight lowering of the tongue does not cause lexical confusion. In both languages, there is a voiceless fricative /s/; a slight voicing of this phoneme does not cause lexical confusion in either language. There is a voiceless bilabial stop /p/ with minimal aspiration. The sequences /es/ and /sp/ occur in both languages, and in neither language does /sp/ occur in word initial position. But in both languages, /esp/ does occur in word initial position. As between the two languages, there is similarity in arrangement, in phonemes, in sequence, and in sequence position. They are:

	Spanish	Tagalog
arrangement	VCC	VCC
phonemes	/e, s, p/	/e, s, p/
sequence	/esp/	/esp/
position	/esp-/	/esp-/

On the other hand, there can be dissimilarities between these four features in a foreign language: Michigan English; and those in another language: Mandarin Chinese, Japanese, Tagalog, or Thai.³ Such dissimilarities constitute learning difficulties.

³Informant's are: for Japanese, Mrs. Hide Inada, a native speaker from Tokyo; for Tagalog, Mrs. Emma Fonancier Bernabe, a native speaker from Manila; for Thai, Miss Prachoom Dabbhasuta, a native speaker from Bangkok.

And it is the purpose of this article to show some types of sound-arrangement relations and sound-sequence relations illustrating different learning problems and different learning load.

II

Nine types of sound-arrangement relations and sound-sequence relations are given here. The first type is no learning problem, and it is called Type O. The other eight types constitute learning problems, and they are numbered from 1 through 8. The presentation of each type begins with a formula to show sound-arrangement relationship and sound-sequence relationship. Examples follow the formula to illustrate the two relationships. The description of the type ends each section. In each type, capital letters within () represent various languages. C means consonant; - means the occurrence of a vowel. Symbols within / / represent various phonemes. ~ means "varies with"; * means non-occurrence. FL means foreign language; NL means native language.

The FL used here is English. The NL is Mandarin Chinese, Japanese, Tagalog, or Thai. The consonant phonemes selected from English are /p, t, f, θ, s, l, r/. In Mandarin or Thai, /p, t, f, s, l, r/ occur; /θ/ does not occur. In Tagalog, /p, t, s, l, r/ occur; /f, θ/ do not occur. In Japanese, /p, t, s, r/ occur; /f, θ, l/ do not occur.

	/p t f θ s l r/	/p t s r l f θ/	
English	x x x x x x x	x x x x x x x	English
Mandarin	x x x x x x	x x x x x x	Mandarin
Thai	x x x x x x	x x x x x x	Thai
Tagalog	x x x x x	x x x x x	Tagalog
Japanese	x x x x	x x x x	Japanese

In English, consonants in initial position occur in the following arrangements: C-, CC-, and CCC-. In Thai, C-, CC-, and CCC- also all occur. In Tagalog, C- and CC- occur; CCC- does not occur. In Mandarin and Japanese, C- occurs; CC- and CCC- do not occur.

	C-	CC-	CCC-
English	x	x	x
Thai	x	x	x
Tagalog	x	x	
Mandarin	x		
Japanese	x		

The sound-arrangements selected from English for this study are CC- and CCC-. The consonant-sequences selected are /tr-/, /fl-/, /θr-/, /sp-/, /sf-/, and /spr-/.

Type O. (A) CC- /YZ-/
(B) CC- /YZ-/
(C) CC- /YZ-/

The CC arrangement occurs in English, Tagalog, and Thai. /t/ and /r/, and the sequence /tr/ also occur in all three languages. This sequence occurs in initial position /tr-/ in all three languages too. Native speakers of Tagalog or Thai have no problem in producing the English /tr-/ *tree*.

FL	English	CC- /tr-/
NL	Tagalog	CC- /tr-/
NL	Thai	CC- /tr-/

Type O may be described as follows: CC- /YZ-/ occurs in (A), (B), or (C). Native speakers of (B) or (C) have no problem in producing CC- /YZ-/ in (A). The example is the English /tr-/ for speakers of Tagalog or Thai.

Type 1. (A) CC- /YZ-/
(B) CC- /-YZ-/

CC-; /s/, /p/; /sp/ occur in English and in Tagalog. /sp-/ occurs in English; /-sp-/ occurs in Tagalog. Native speakers of Tagalog produce the English /sp-/ *spear* as /-sp- *-spear*, with a vowel preceding the consonant sequence,

FL	English	CC- /sp-/
NL	Tagalog	CC- /-sp-/

Type 1 may be described as follows: CC-, /Y,Z/, and /YZ/ occur in (A) and in (B). /YZ-/ occurs in (A); /-YZ-/ occurs in (B). Speakers of (B) substitute /-YZ-/ for /YZ-/. The example is the English /sp-/ for Tagalog speakers.

Type 1 is the same as Type O in that both the FL and the NL have CC- and /YZ/. But in Type O, it is CC- /YZ-/; similar phoneme sequence in similar position. In Type 1, it is

CC- /YZ-/ in the FL and CC- /-YZ-/ in the NL: similar phoneme sequence in different positions.

Type 2.	a1.	(A)	CC- /YZ-/
		(B)	CC- /*YZ-/
	a2.	(A)	CC- /YZ-/
		(B)	CC- /Y-Z-/
	b	(A)	CCC- /XYZ-/
		(B)	CCC- /X-YZ-/

a1. CC- and /f/, /l/ occur in English and in Thai. In English, there is the phoneme sequence /fl-/. In Thai, initial /f/ is always followed by a vowel: /f-/. /fl-/ does not occur in the language. Thai speakers, however, in producing the English /fl-/ *flea* often produce the sequence /fl-/ *flea*.

FL	English	CC- /fl-/
NL	Thai	CC- /*fl-/

a2. CC- and /s/, /p/, /f/ occur in English and in Thai. In English, initial /s/ may be followed by /p/ or /f/ forming /sp-/ or /sf-/. In Thai, initial /s/ is always followed by a vowel: /s-/. /sp-/ or /sf-/ do not occur. Speakers of Thai learning English as a FL produce the English /sp-/ *spear* as /s-p-/ *Sapir* or the English /sf-/ *sphere* as /s-f-/ *s-phere*.

FL	English	CC- /sp-/ /sf-/
NL	Thai	CC- /s-p-/ /s-f-/

b. CCC- and /s/, /p/, /r/ occur in English and in Thai. In English, /s,p,r/ may occur successively in initial position forming /spr-/. In Thai, initial /s/ is never followed by another consonant; /p,r/ may occur successively forming /pr-/. Native speakers of Thai produce the English /spr-/ *spreed* as /s-pr-/ *s-prée*.

FL	English	CCC- /spr-/
NL	Thai	CCC- /s-pr-/

Type 2 may be described as follows: a. CC- and /Y, Z/ occur in (A) and (B). /YZ-/ occurs in (A); /Y-Z-/ occurs in

(B). a1. Speakers of (B) may produce /YZ-/ as /YZ-/. The example is the English /fl-/ for Thai speakers. a2. Speakers of (B) may produce /Y-Z-/ for /YZ-/. The examples are the English /sp-/ or /sf-/ for Thai speakers. b. CCC- and /X, Y, Z/ occur in (A) and in (B). /XYZ-/ occurs in (A); /X-YZ-/ occurs in (B). Speakers of (B) substitute /X-YZ-/ for /XYZ-/. The example is the English /spr-/ for Thai speakers.

- Type 3. a. (A) CC- /YZ-/
 (B) CC- /XZ-/
 b. (A) CC- /YZ-/
 (B) CC- /XZ- ~ *WZ-/
 (C) CC- /XZ- ~ *WZ-/

a. CC-; /p/, /l/; /pl-/ occur in English and in Tagalog. /f/ and /fl-/ occur in English but not in Tagalog. Native speakers of Tagalog produce the English /fl-/ *flea* as /pl-/ *plea*.

FL	English	CC- /fl-/
NL	Tagalog	CC- /pl-/

b. CC-; /t/, /r/; /tr-/ occur in English, Tagalog, and Thai. /θ/ and /θr-/ occur in English but not in Tagalog or Thai. /s/ occurs in all three languages. /sr-/ does not occur in any of the three languages. Native speakers of Tagalog or Thai produce the English /θr-/ *three* sometimes as /tr-/ *tree* and sometimes as /*sr-/ **sree*.

FL	English	CC- /θr-/
NL	Tagalog	CC- /tr- ~ *sr-/
NL	Thai	CC- /tr- ~ *sr-/

Type 3 may be described as follows: a. CC-, /X, Z/, and /XZ-/ occur in (A) and in (B). /Y/ and /YZ-/ occur only in (A). Speakers of (B) substitute /XZ-/ for /YZ-/. The example is the English /fl-/ for Tagalog speakers. b. CC-, /W, X, Z/, and /XZ-/ occur in (A), (B), or (C). /Y/ and /YZ-/ occur only in (A). /WZ-/ occurs in none of the three languages. Speakers of (B) or (C) substitute /XZ- ~ *WZ-/ for /YZ-/. The example is the English /θr-/ for Tagalog or Thai speakers.

- Type 4. (A) CC- /YZ-/
(B) CC- /-YX-/

CC- and /s/, /p/ occur in English and in Tagalog. /f/ and /sf-/ , /sp-/ occur in English. /f/ and /sf-/ do not occur in Tagalog; /sp/ occurs as /-sp-/. Tagalog speakers produce the English /sf-/ *sphere* as /-sp-/ *-spear*.

- FL English CC- /sf-/
NL Tagalog CC- /-sp-/

Type 4 may be described as follows: CC-, /X,Y/, and /YX/ occur in (A) and (B). /Z/; /YZ-/ , /YX-/ occur in (A). /-YX-/ occurs in (B). Speakers of (B) substitute /-YX-/ for /YZ-/. The example is the English /sf-/ for Tagalog speakers.

- Type 5. (A) CCC- /XYZ-/
(B) /-XYZ-/

/s/, /p/, /r/ and /spr/ occur in English and in Tagalog. CCC- and /spr-/ occur in English; /-spr-/ occurs in Tagalog. Native speakers of Tagalog produce the English /-spr-/ *-spree* as /s-pr-/ *-spree*.

- FL English CCC- /XYZ-/
NL Tagalog /-XYZ-/

Type 5 may be described as follows: /X,Y,Z/ and /XYZ/ occur in (A) and (B). CCC- and /XYZ-/ occur in (A); /-XYZ-/ occurs in (B). Speakers of (B) substitute /-XYZ-/ for /XYZ-/. The example is the English /spr-/ for Tagalog speakers.

Type 5 is different from Type 1. In Type 1, both the FL and the NL have CC- and /YZ/. In the FL, it is /YZ-/; in the NL, it is /-YZ-/. In Type 5, the FL has CCC-; the NL does not have it. Both the FL and the NL have /XYZ/. In the FL, it is /XYZ-/; in the NL, it is /-XYZ-/.

- Type 6. a. (A) CC- /YZ-/
 (B) /Y-Z-/
 b. (A) CCC- /XYZ-/
 (B) /X-Y-Z-/
 (C) /X-Y-Z-/

a. Example 1. C- and /f/, /l/, /s/ occur in English and in Mandarin Chinese. CC- and /fl-/, /sf-/ occur in English but not in Mandarin. Mandarin speakers produce the English /fl-/ *flea* as /f-l-/ *f-lea*, and the English /sf-/ *sphere* as /s-f-/ *s-phere*.

FL	English	CC- /fl-/	/sf-/
NL	Mandarin	/f-l-/	/s-f-/

Example 2. C- and /s/, /p/, /t/, /r/ occur in English, Mandarin, or Japanese. CC- and /sp-/, /tr-/ occur in English but not in Mandarin or Japanese. Native speakers of Mandarin or Japanese produce the English /sp-/ *spear* as /s-p-/ *Sapir* and the English /tr-/ *train* as /t-r-/ *terrain*.

FL	English	CC- /sp-/	/tr-/
NL	Mandarin	/s-p-/	/t-r-/
NL	Japanese	/s-p-/	/t-r-/

b. C- and /s/, /p/, /r/ occur in English, Mandarin, or Japanese. CCC- and /spr-/ occur in English but not in Mandarin or Japanese. Native speakers of Mandarin or Japanese produce the English /spr-/ *spre* as /s-p-r-/ *s-p-ree*.

FL	English	CCC- /spr-/
NL	Mandarin	/s-p-r-/
NL	Japanese	/s-p-r-/

Type 6 may be described as follows: a. C- and /Y, Z/ occur in (A), (B), or (C). CC- and /YZ-/ occur in (A); /Y-Z-/ occurs in (B) or (C). Speakers of (B) or (C) substitute /Y-Z-/ for /YZ-/. The examples are the English /fl-/, /sf-/ for Mandarin speakers and the English /sp-/, /tr-/ for Mandarin or Japanese speakers. b. C- and /X, Y, Z/ occur in (A), (B), or (C). CCC- and /XYZ-/ occur in (A). /X, Y, Z/ occurs in (B) or (C). Speakers of (B) or (C) substitute /X-Y-Z-/ for /XYZ-/. The example is the English /spr-/ for Mandarin or Japanese speakers.

Type 8. (A) CC- /YZ-/
(B) /W-X-/

C- and /h/, /r/ occur in English and in Japanese. CC-; /f/, /l/; /fl-/ occur in English but not in Japanese. Native speakers of Japanese produce the English /fl-/ *flea* as /h-r-/ *h-rea*.

FL English CC- /fl-/
NL Japanese /h-r-/

Type 8 may be described as follows: C- and /W,X/ occur in (A) and (B). CC-; /Y,Z/; /YZ-/ occur in (A). Speakers of (B) substitute /W-X-/ for /YZ-/. The example is the English /fl-/ for Japanese speakers.

Examples illustrating all the nine types of sound-arrangement relations and sound-sequence relations are summarized below. The number within () refers to the specific type given above.

English	Mandarin	Japanese	Tagalog	Thai
CC-	C-	C-	CC-	CC-
tr-	t-r- (6a)	t-r- (6a)	tr- (0)	tr- (0)
fl-	f-l- (6a)	h-r- (8)	pl- (3a)	fl- (2a1)
θr-	s-r- ~ t-r- (7b)	s-r- (7a)	tr- ~ *sr- (3b)	tr- ~ *sr- (3b)
sp-	s-p- (6a)	s-p- (6a)	-sp- (1)	s-p- (2a2)
sf-	s-f- (6a)	s-h- (7c)	-sp- (4)	s-f- (2a2)
CCC-	C-	C-	CC-	CCC-
spr-	s-p-r- (6b)	s-p-r- (6b)	-spr- (5)	s-pr- (2b)

The nine types of sound-sequence relations fall into two groups of sound-arrangement relations. First, the arrangement

occurs in the FL and in the NL. They are Type O - Type 4. Second, the arrangement in the FL does not occur in the NL. They are Type 5 - Type 8.

III

With the above information, we can now analyze the nature of the substitutions used by native speakers of Mandarin Chinese, Japanese, Tagalog, or Thai, when they learn to speak English as a foreign language, so that we may understand their "learning load."

The substitution types given here can be classified into four grades of learning load. The learning load is a function of the number of corrections necessary to attain proper production of the foreign language. The number within () indicates the type of sound-sequence relation described in II. > means "is replaced by."

O. Zero-learning-load—no correction necessary.

YZ- > YZ-

a. Similar phoneme sequence in the same position in both the FL and the NL

English	Tagalog	Thai
tr-	tr-	tr- (O)

b. Similar phonemes in the FL and in the NL but absence of the phoneme sequence in the NL.

English	Thai
fl-	*fl- (2a1)

1. Single-learning-load—one correction necessary.

a. Erroneous addition of a vowel to the sequence

1). YZ- > -YZ-

English	Tagalog
sp-	-sp- (1)

2). YZ- > Y-Z-

English	Mandarin	Japanese	Thai
sp-	s-p- (6a)	s-p- (6a)	s-p- (2a2)
sf-	s-f- (6a)		s-f- (2a2)
tr-	t-r- (6a)	t-r- (6a)	
fl-	f-l- (6a)		

3). XYZ- > X-YZ-

English	Thai
spr-	s-pr- (2b)

4). XYZ- > -XYZ-

English	Tagalog
spr-	-spr- (5)

b. Erroneous substitution of a consonant phoneme in the sequence.

1). YZ- > XZ-

English	Tagalog
fl-	pl- (3a)

2). YZ- > XZ- ~ WZ-

English	Tagalog	Thai
θr-	tr- ~ *sr-	tr- ~ *sr- (3b)

2. Double-learning-load—two corrections necessary.

a. Erroneous addition of two vowels to the sequences.

XYZ- > X-Y-Z-

English	Mandarin	Japanese
spr-	s-p-r-	s-p-r- (6b)

b. Erroneous addition of a vowel to the sequence and erroneous substitution of a consonant in the sequence.

1). YZ- > -YX-

English	Tagalog
sf-	-sp- (4)

2). YZ- > X-Z-

English	Japanese
θr-	s-r- (7a)

3). YZ- > X-Z- ~ W-Z-

English	Mandarin
θr-	s-r- ~ t-r- (7b)

4). YZ- > Y-X-

English	Japanese
sf-	s-h- (7c)

3. Triple-learning-load—three corrections necessary. Erroneous addition of a vowel to the sound sequence and erroneous substitution of two consonants in the sequence.

YZ- > W-X-

English	Japanese
fl-	h-r- (8)

Every language has a set of significant sounds and sound-arrangements. Acquisition of a language requires more than a knowledge of its sounds and its sound-arrangements. The learner must control the sound-sequences. It has been observed here that two languages may have similar arrangements and similar phonemes in similar sequences and in similar positions (Type O). They may have similar arrangements and similar phonemes in similar sequences, but the sequences are in different positions (Type 1). They may have similar arrangements and similar phonemes, but the sequences are different and are in different positions. In one language the phonemes may occur successively. In another language, they may not occur successively (Type 2); they may occur as a different phoneme sequence (Type 3); they may occur as a different phoneme sequence which is always preceded by another phoneme (Type 4). Two languages may have different arrangements and similar phonemes in similar sequences, but the sequences are in different positions (Type 5). They may have different arrangements and similar phonemes, but the phoneme sequences are different and are in different positions. In one language, the phoneme sequence may occur successively. In another language, they may not occur successively (Type 6); they may not occur successively and they occur as different phonemes (Type 7). Two languages may have different arrangements, and different phonemes in different sequences and in different positions (Type 8).

arrangement	phoneme	sequence	position
similar	similar	similar	similar (Type O)
similar	similar	similar	different (Type 1)
similar	similar	different	different (Type 2, Type 3, Type 4)
different	similar	similar	different (Type 5)
different	similar	different	different (Type 6, Type 7)
different	different	different	different (Type 8)

When two languages have different arrangements, there is always learning difficulty (Type 5 - Type 8). Even when they have similar arrangements, it is not safe to assume that there are no teaching problems (Type 1 - Type 4). Sound-arrangements do not indicate sound-sequences; sound-sequences indicate sound-arrangements. A speaker does not attain linguistic freedom until he has control of the sound-sequences which occur in the language.

And every language has its limited, exhaustive, and permissible occurrent sequences.

Effective planning for foreign language teaching calls for a detailed comparison between the sound-arrangements and sound-sequences in the FL and in the NL. When a sound-sequence does not occur in the NL, it is possible that native speakers will be capable of producing the sequence. For example: Thai speakers can produce the English /fl-/.

On the other hand, native speakers might not be able to produce the sound-sequences in the FL which do not occur in their language. In such cases, two kinds of substitutions have been observed:

First, substitution of a sequence that occurs in the FL. This causes confusion. For example: When Mandarin, Japanese, or Thai speakers produce the English /sp-/ as /s-p-/, *spear* becomes *Sapir*. When Tagalog or Thai speakers produce the English /θr-/ as /tr-/, *three* becomes *tree*. When Tagalog speakers produce the English /fl-/ as /pl-/ , *flea* becomes *plea*.

Second, substitution of a sequence that does not commonly occur in the FL. This can cause unintelligibility. For example: When Tagalog or Thai speakers produce the English /θr-/ as /*sr-/, *three* becomes **sree*.

This article does not intend to slight the importance of a knowledge of sound-arrangements in linguistic research. It only attempts to show the importance of specific sound-sequences in proper FL learning and teaching. The various kinds of individual learning problems and the different grades of learning load can be more accurately determined by comparing the sound-sequences in the FL with those in the NL.

DICTATION IN LANGUAGE LEARNING¹

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In the somewhat sweeping changes that have taken place in language teaching during the last twenty years, dictation as an effective teaching device has been neglected because it has appeared, on the surface, to run counter to the approach to language learning and teaching which strongly emphasizes the spoken languages as the model.² Because dictation involves orthographic forms in at least the student's reaction to a language stimulus, and because the introduction of orthography is delayed in some elementary language instruction today, refinements in the uses of dictation do not seem to have been made.³ It is the purpose of this paper to suggest some possible functions of dictated speech and to recommend these uses to teachers and students of spoken languages.

¹Parts of this article were presented at the meeting of the American Speech and Hearing Association in Los Angeles on November 4, 1960.

²Modern linguists are inclined to take the view that Language is the spoken language and that presentation of its visual form too soon is likely to be confusing and ineffective. There is at least one empirical study, by Richards and Appel ("The Effects of Written Words in Beginning Spanish," *Modern Language Journal*, 1956), with the finding that delaying the introduction of orthography resulted in superior pronunciation. But again there is lack of complete agreement." Don E. Dulany, Jr., "Notes for an Investigation of Second Language Learning," (Mimeographed paper), p. 13.

Research in some related problems is scheduled by the authors together with Susan Ervin for the year 1960-61. The title of the project is: "The Order of Introduction of Writing and Meaning in Second Language Learning." This research is being performed pursuant to a contract with the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

³For examples of the types of treatment given see the following discussions: Earl W. Stevick, *Helping People Learn English*, (Nashville, Tenn., 1957), p. 73; Edwin T. Cornelius, Jr., *Teaching English*, (Washington, D.C., 1955), pp. 54-56; Edward S. Joynes, "Dictation and Composition in Modern Language Teaching," *Modern Language Association Publications*, Vol. XV, App. I, 1900, pp. xxv-xxx.

The objection most likely to be raised to dictation is that the student should not be introduced to a writing system until the sounds of the language and their patterns have been thoroughly learned. This argument is probably valid if a teacher is lucky enough to have a class of students who have never seen the orthographic forms of the language they are learning. However, in American schools and colleges, the more usual situation is that the student has learned the foreign language more from textbooks than from speech, and often has studied under teachers whose assumption is that spelling is the central symbolization of the language.

In many language learning situations the student has not only begun his study of the second language with exposure to an orthographic system, but intermixed with the confusions resulting from the phonological and grammatical impositions which his native language places on the language he is learning are those recognition and production problems which arise out of an automatic set of reactions to the written symbols of his own language. Such problems can occur, for example, in situations in which a Roman alphabet is employed as a source for symbols and the student's native language uses some other system. The student will almost certainly have set up a one to one relation of the Roman symbols to symbols he uses for his own language. A Russian learning English may have some difficulty refraining from substituting /d/ for /g/, since the Cyrillic representation for Russian /d/ looks like the Roman 'g.' A similar but more extreme example occurs in Indian schools in elementary primers of English using a Devanagari transcription of English. The persistent retroflexion of English /t/ and /d/ by many Indian speakers may be blamed in part on the fact that the Devanagari symbols used are traditionally taken from the retroflex series, although a series of symbols for dentals is available. The fact that his native language does not use a Roman alphabet will only rarely prevent a student from making sound-symbol associations based on his own or possibly even a third language.

For the student who has learned a writing system together with some greater or smaller part of the second language, the teacher has no real choice. It would be unrealistic to pretend that the student knows nothing of the new writing system. It would be uneconomical to force the student to act as if he knows nothing of the language and to pretend that he is a child learning a language as a child first learns one. Indeed the teacher of English as a foreign language in America almost always finds that many of the errors made by students are due to confusion about the orthographic system. We suggest that dictation is one

very effective way of correcting such errors. For the student who has learned the sounds before going on to the writing system, it will form a logical next step.

Dictation can be divided into four types: phonemic item, phonemic text, and orthographic item or orthographic text dictations. In languages such as English, where a phonemic transcription of a fairly long passage presents a problem too difficult for elementary or intermediate students, *phonemic* text dictation would be impractical; in languages having near-phonemic writing systems such a text dictation would be unnecessary. Because item dictations are most useful when teaching pronunciation, *orthographic* item dictation would be pedagogically useless in languages having non-phonemic writing systems; such an item dictation would best be used for teaching spelling after a correlation has been made between the spelling system and the sound system. The following discussion centers around the remaining possibilities, phonemic item and orthographic text dictations.

Phonemic item dictation can be extremely useful in increasing the student's ability to recognize sounds and the contrast in sounds, facilitating his production of those sounds and contrasts. However, its usefulness is primarily limited to encouraging him to stop imposing the sound system of his native language upon the system of the second language. The usefulness of orthographic text dictation is wider and offers the student and the teacher a multiplicity of advantages, both in techniques used and materials presented. We will discuss phonemic item dictation first, as it is the more modest in scope.

One aim of an item dictation is to present the allophonic distributions of phonemes and the contrasts between phonemes in such a fashion that the student will learn, by means of the visual symbols, to associate sounds he already knows with the appropriate sound units and symbols of the second language. He will also correct previously established unsatisfactory patterns, no matter what their origin. Since some languages have writing systems which are near-phonemic, it is practical to use a special system of notation only for those where the orthography does not accurately represent the sound system. Although the importance of the use of a special notation system varies according to the language being learned, the item dictation patterning which emphasizes the contrast in sounds is always of importance.

Because in item dictation the attention is centered in the structuring of the sound system, and the effort is to correct those points at which the student introduces unsatisfactory pho-

nemic or subphonemic variations into the system he is learning, the dictation exercises for these problems should be short and consist of single items or brief phrasal items. The student should have already been introduced to the sounds of the language he is studying. Material should not be used for dictation until after pronunciation drill on the problem at hand and oral exercises in production and recognition. A form may be used that did not occur in the pronunciation drill, but that form should consist of an arrangement of sounds already drilled orally.

The dictations should be presented systematically so that they lead from recognition of contrasts to recognition of predictable variants. In presenting English to Hungarians, the contrast between /e/ and /æ/ before voiceless stops, and then before voiced stops, would be dictated before presenting the predictable variation in length of /e/ and /æ/ before the voiceless and voiced stops taken together. This arrangement is followed because Hungarians tend to use vowel length, which is non-phonemic and predictable in English but phonemic and not predictable in Hungarian, as the distinguishing feature when trying to produce the contrast between such words as 'met' and 'mat.' There is no phonemic contrast between /e/ and /æ/ in Hungarian.

The dictations should be structured in the most efficient way possible, according to the distinctive features which mark the contrasts, the similarity in points of articulation and differences in manner of articulation, or the reverse. One or another combination of distinctive features may be used depending upon the problem being dealt with. The environments of the sounds to be recognized should be as rigorously controlled as possible. The reasons for this are obvious. If a student has difficulty recognizing a certain contrast, the fewer non-relevant contrasts he has to listen to the better. As he becomes aware of the pairs of sounds with which he has difficulty, the environments may be elaborated and the dictation may be constructed so that he is simultaneously recognizing two, three, four, or more contrasts in as many different environments. The basic idea of the item dictation may be used in many different ways,⁴ but it

⁴R. Rackley has suggested an interesting format for brief phonemic dictations. Ten items are printed on a sheet of paper alongside of two columns of ten blanks each. The paper is folded so that the student does not see the correct forms. After the dictation the student scores his own performance by unfolding the sheet and comparing his own answers with the ten printed items. He then folds the sheet so that he can see neither the answers or his first effort as the teacher repeats the dictation. The completed papers are then collected by the instructor for grading.

should be kept in mind that we are talking about dictation as a learning exercise and that the visual symbols used are only aids to help the student achieve adequate production.

The amount of phonological material which can be treated in dictation and the order in which phonological problems should be treated depend, of course, on the language being taught. For English, it might be best to concentrate on segmental phonemic problems before suprasegmental ones. Then too, since we are dealing with items, probably only primary stress should be introduced. As the pitch and juncture phenomena and the stresses other than primary have more significance over longer stretches of speech than the single word, and since it is not practical from the point of view of effective instruction to have students transcribing long utterances, it may be that in English the item dictation could be limited to the segmental phonemes and their arrangements and to primary stress. However, in a language such as Thai, where the tone phenomena serve as the only contrast in many monosyllabic forms, it would obviously be necessary to introduce the learning of tones from the beginning.

For the foreign student of a language who must become skillful enough to follow lectures and live in a new language, orthographic text dictation, in sharp contrast with item dictation, is crucially important, although greater emphasis on phonemic dictation might be desirable in other situations.

A text dictation is a dictation of about 100-150 words taken from contemporary sources that offer reasonable models of the written or spoken varieties of the language being learned. Like item dictation, the text dictation which is usually from written rather than spoken sources, should be used as a learning exercise and only secondarily as a testing exercise. Its most important function is providing drill in understanding connected speech. It may consist of a series of isolated sentences or a paragraph, a unified group of sentences. Since speech does not occur as isolated items and context can help the student correct the structural difficulties he has, paragraph dictations that are self-contained contextual units are best for most drills.

The dictations may be selected from materials the student has already read and studied. If this is done, the pattern of presentation would be entirely changed. The strong reason for using material not previously studied is that the student must learn what he hears and what he does not hear. This can only be accomplished by making his experience of hearing the primary and first aspect of the dictation, as indeed it should be.

The materials for dictations must be selected according to the students' abilities and the levels of usage and style for which

there will be the most need. If one is teaching high school or college students who must become familiar with a prose style that commonly appears in textbooks and lectures, students who must learn to use such a prose style in examinations and term papers, it is preferable to select dictations that are examples of expository prose, covering a variety of subjects with which the students may have contact. For an elementary class one should select dictations which do not employ stylistic variations that are too different from the grammatical norms the students are learning, (e.g. the uses of the English adverbs of frequency⁵). One should also try in selecting dictations to choose paragraphs containing good examples of problems the class may be dealing with in another area of instruction: features of grammar, vocabulary, spelling, or punctuation.

Although careful consideration must be given to the dictation as a model, it is even more important that the teacher devise a method of graphically distinguishing the difference between the comprehension errors and the spelling errors made when the dictation is taken.⁶ A student's "misspelling" of a form may be due to mistaken substitutions (phonological and/or grammatical), e.g., "he thought it wise" > "he has started wise"; "Louis XIV was an aristocrat" > "Louis XIV was an aristocrat"; "the art of reading is not a virtue" > "the art of grading is not a vulture"; "he robs no one" > "he robs no one," "he ropes no one," "he love no one," "he laughs no one"; "she is giving a party tonight" > "she is giver a party tonight." However, an error may be just a spelling error of the sort a native speaker of the language in question might make, e.g., "receive" > "recieve." Having defined the difference between these two kinds of errors, the absence of forms which were dictated and the presence of forms which were not dictated must also be included as comprehension errors.

⁵never, 'often, 'always, 'etc., because of the unusual positions in which they can occur, are confusing to the student who has learned only the most frequent patterns.

⁶In marking student texts dictation it is convenient to circle comprehension errors, underline spelling errors, and mark punctuation errors with a caret. A further refinement uses a slant to separate items which should not be joined and a subscript brève to show items which should be joined. The symbols used in marking should be held to a very small number.

Examples: "not is" for "is not" would be marked "not is"; "hability" for "ability", "hability"; "triumph" for "triumphs", "triumph0"; "be held" for "beheld", "be held"; "maybe" for "may be", "maybe"; "wroar" for "roar", "wroar"; "triumpht" for "triumphed", "triumpht."

For maximum effectiveness, in order that the student can become acutely aware of the kinds of errors he makes and begin to correct them, the dictation is presented three times. When the student first took down the dictation, it was collected, the errors were marked but not corrected, and it was handed back to him before the second presentation. Before the preliminary reading through takes place the second time the dictation is presented, the student looks at his marked first effort, paying particular attention to the comprehension errors, and prepares to listen carefully for the forms as they are actually uttered, so that he can try to supply correct forms when the dictation is repeated at the rate of speed at which he can write. After the reading through, the teacher dictates in natural speech-phrase units, repeating each unit and allowing enough time in the pauses for the student to write. Throughout this repetition the student has been concentrating on comprehension. At the end the teacher repeats the dictation for a third time, this time sentence by sentence, and it is now that the student tries to supply the correct spellings and the appropriate punctuation, which may or may not be marked phonologically. During all repetitions the person dictating should approximate as closely as possible an appropriate speaking style and a normal speech speed. When the dictation is collected for the second time, the teacher gives the student a typed or dittoed copy of what he has heard, and he is told to study that copy, if necessary memorize it. When he hears the same dictation at the next class meeting he should be able to write it perfectly.

Since a dictation is presented three times and during each presentation is repeated three times, the student is exposed to the same stream of speech, divided into units consisting of the paragraph, the spoken phrase unit, and the sentence, a total of nine times, three times on each of three days. He is forced into an awareness of his comprehension errors, phonological or grammatical or both. Along with the comprehension problems, his attention is drawn to the kinds of spelling errors he is prone to make and to the phonological cues to punctuation. Most important of all, he is forced to correct the errors he makes.

Another important function of the orthographic text dictation is the practice it gives the students in simply putting pen to paper in response to a spoken stimulus. When a student writes a grammar exercise or drills a grammar exercise orally, especially one which is not properly controlled, or when he writes a free composition, he is often likely to produce grammatically correct sentences that are meaningless, or sentences of "the pen of my aunt is in the garden" variety, which are never either

spoken or written. In the paragraph dictation situation he is not responsible for the construction of grammatical patterns, he does not have to make vocabulary choices, he is not forced to make decisions concerning stylistic patterns he may not be aware of, and yet he is writing meaningfully in this second language in a manner approximating the way a native speaker would write.⁷

The text dictation, then, correlates the stream of speech and its written manifestation and presents glimpses of the language in its entirety—the system and the spoken and written variations of a lexical and syntactic nature occurring within the system, and the orthographic conventions used to represent the system and its variations.

Text dictation serves the teacher and the student variously and efficiently. The advantages to the teacher include:

1. Dictation can be used with a class of any size. During the time the dictation is given all of the students are working, not just one or two.
2. If the dictation is presented as the first item in the proceedings of the class, it will effectively quiet the class down. It will also discourage tardiness.
3. The teacher is able to identify and correct a maximum number of different problems in a minimum time. One dictation may take no more than a total of thirty minutes out of three class meetings, but if correctly chosen, it will uncover and correct as many as fifty different errors in a class of ten students.
4. If the class consists of students whose native languages are not the same, the dictation will uncover and force the correction of different types of errors for students with different language backgrounds.
5. Once the dictations are selected and reproduced, no preparation is necessary before going to class except a brief preliminary reading.

⁷It is worthwhile to quote some comments of Edward S. Joynes', *op. cit.*: "...In dictation we have the most perfect combination of faculties and functions. There is the accurate tongue, speaking to the listening and discriminating ear; there is the reproductive hand, bringing back to the intelligent and critical eye that which the mind has heard by ear—all the faculties of perception, conception, and expression are alert and in harmonious cooperation. As an aid to accurate pronunciation, as a stimulus to alert attention, and as conducive to the *sprachgefühl* which rests so largely upon the quick apprehension of the spoken language, it presents distinct advantages which no form of written composition can possibly secure.

...dictation should be substituted for composition, largely if not wholly, during the earlier stages of instruction."

6. Dictations are very easy to correct and grade. The teacher will have memorized the dictation by the time he is done presenting it for the first time, and when he has marked the first few papers he will be conscious of the most frequent patterns of mistakes. It takes longer to correct a 150-word essay than it does to mark a dictation of the same length. Moreover, because marking is simple, the chore can be more easily delegated than can the reading and marking of compositions.

The advantages to the student are these:

1. He is guaranteed at least ten minutes of work during the class hour. In a class of ten students meeting for fifty minutes, an individual cannot ordinarily expect to recite more than four minutes at best.
2. The student gets practice in the sort of note-taking that many courses require.
3. He gets practice in writing. For some students, particularly those whose native language uses a radically different written symbolization, practice in penmanship is actually necessary. The student is forced to correct writing errors and confusions.
4. He discovers the things he doesn't hear. Many students never fully realize their problems in incorrectly identifying what they hear. They may be able to read and spell a word, but they don't recognize it when it is spoken, or they confuse different words or phrases with the ones they are hearing. They may never realize that they never hear certain elements at all. For instance, a foreign student of English tends not to hear articles when they occur in unstressed position. The dictation, if the marking adequately emphasizes comprehension errors, serves as visual proof of the mistakes a student is making in hearing.
5. Dictation forces the student to be aware that, if he is making errors, only he can correct them. The teacher or the dictation can make him aware of his errors, but he has to correct them himself.

The mechanics for text dictation are these: each dictation is presented at three separate class meetings; after the first day the papers are marked but not corrected; on the second day the student has his first, marked effort in front of him as he writes; at the end of the second presentation the class papers are picked up by the teacher and a copy of the dictation is given to each student; on the third day, the third presentation, the teacher can reasonably insist that all students turn in perfect work.

For the teacher who is tempted to try this device it can be forecast from our own experience that the average student at the end of one semester will have decreased the number of errors he makes in dictations of comparable difficulty by from one third to one half. It is true that such a dramatic change does not mean that the student's control of his new language is proportionately that great. He has, however, learned to listen, to concentrate, to write from dictation; he has become familiar with the teacher's particular voice quality; but these abilities are also part of learning a language. In acquiring them he has learned some part of his second language.

DURATIVE FORMULAS IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE:
THE VERBAL DIMENSION OF 'FOCUS'

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The purpose of this paper will be to examine carefully the 'progressive' forms which play a very conspicuous role in everyday colloquial usage in Portuguese. We will be concerned with the relationship of the progressive forms to the simple verb forms and to other complex forms, and with the problem of comparison with English progressives. Since grammars of Portuguese deal with *estar* plus participle to the virtual exclusion of formally parallel forms with *ficar*, *ir* and others plus participle, we will attempt a presentation of all such complex forms. It is to be hoped that the present discussion will be not only of theoretical interest in showing one segment of the means available to the speaker of Brazilian Portuguese to talk about experience, but of practical use as well in the teaching of the language to speakers of English.¹

BP has a non-finite verb system made up of three forms (we use the appropriate form of the verb *falar* 'to speak' as an archetype): infinitive FALAR, past participle FALADO and present participle FALANDO. Each of these occurs in complex verbal nuclei with an auxiliary finite verb; by verbal nucleus is meant a form that can function as the sole verb in a sentence. FALAR when it occurs with the auxiliary verb *ir* 'to go' in a sentence like *Acho que não vai haver a menor dificuldade* 'I don't think there's going to be the least difficulty' is an indicator of an event posterior to the moment of speaking, and FALADO with the auxiliary *ter* 'to have' in a sentence like *Tem chovido muito*

¹This study is part of a description of the Portuguese verb system undertaken in 1959-60 while I was a member of the Luso-Brazilian Center at the University of Wisconsin. Some features of this description, which is to be presented in more detail at a later date, will have to be anticipated here. The usage considered here is exclusively Brazilian, and examples (always in the spelling of the original) are from current periodicals and the works of modern writers such as Andrade, Verissimo, Lins do Rego, Monteiro Lobato, Amado, Buarque de Hollanda, Ramos and Camargo. All translations are my own.

'It has been raining a lot' is an indicator of an event anterior to the moment of speaking. FALANDO is somewhat more difficult to define. In usages such as the following, it is clear that its function is—exactly like the participle in English—the expression of the duration or the middle of an event independent of any specification of tense or aspect:

MARGARIDA (sorrindo) ... 'Margarida (smiling)...' / Mas o senhor se enganou, pensando que a situação se modificasse 'But you were wrong in thinking that the situation might change' / Parece estranho, mas sinto-me perfeitamente bem, obedecendo cegamente a meu pai 'It seems strange, but I feel perfectly right obeying my father blindly' / As duas estãoertas perto da mesa, conversando 'The two of them are near the table, talking'

These examples also show that the participle may be in complementation with another verb, adding a supplementary meaning with no additional specification of tense or aspect.

The function in which we are interested is that in which the participle is accompanied by a finite verb acting as an auxiliary. These complexes are identified by the fact that the whole functions as a verbal nucleus, the auxiliary losing partially or completely its independent meaning and becoming only the bearer of tense and aspect markers. The prime verbal meaning then resides in the participle, which formally speaking is the indicator of duration (parallel to the function of FALAR as indicator of posteriority and of FALADO as anteriority). The clearest examples are of *estar* 'to be,' the familiar 'progressive' of the grammars:

A gente sempre está pecando 'People are always sinning' / Poderia me contar o que está acontecendo? 'Could you tell me what is going on?' / E por isso que estou sempre ouvindo vozes confusas 'It's for this reason that I'm always hearing confused voices'

But BP has also an indeterminate number of other durative formulas which formally are completely parallel to the examples above, using other verbs as auxiliaries. The following is a representative if not complete list: *Acabar* and *terminar* 'to finish,' *andar* 'to go, walk,' *começar* and *principiar* 'to begin,' *continuar* 'to continue,' *ficar* 'to be, get,' *ir* 'to go,' *sair* 'to go out,' *vir* 'to come,' *viver* 'to live.' An example or two will suffice for the moment.

Clarissa olha e fica pensando 'Clarissa looks and gets to thinking' / Vamos ao que ia contando 'Let's get back to what I was telling you' / Eu já venho notando há muito tempo... 'I have been notic-

ing for a long time...' / Por isso mesmo vivia dizendo que era o mais ignorante dos homens 'For this reason he kept saying he was the most ignorant of men'

Here we find that in addition to being markers of tense and aspect functions, the auxiliaries tend to retain at least some of their independent meanings. The question we must ask is thus whether some or all of these are perhaps not basic to the verb system in the same way in which 'I stop working' is not basic to the English tense-aspect system whereas 'I am working' is. We can easily distinguish between a durative formula in *Estão comendo na sala de jantar* 'They are eating in the dining room' and a verb plus complement in *Estão na sala de jantar, comendo* 'They are in the dining room eating,' because the first is an expansion of *Comem na sala de jantar* and the second of *Estão na sala de jantar e estão comendo*. But although *Estão na sala de jantar comendo* is not a durative formula and the two verbal forms are separated, in *Estão eles agora comendo na sala de jantar* 'They are eating now in the dining room' the verbal forms are also separated, but this is clearly a durative formula, an expansion of *Comem agora na sala de jantar*. So a durative formula may be interrupted by some contextual elements and not by others, and these examples suggest that when the verb which can be an auxiliary is followed before the participle by an element which can complete a sentence, a following participle is only a verbal complement. As we will see presently, however, we must often deny an apparent durative formula the status of such even when nothing intervenes: *O mundo vai girando* 'The world turns' is an expansion of *O mundo gira*, while *Ele vai correndo* might with equal justification be said to be 'He runs,' *ele corre*, or 'He goes running,' something like *Ele vai e está correndo*. In other words, we might have to consider verbal combinations of *andar*, *ir*, *vir* and so on with a participle as verb plus complement, in spite of their apparent formal identity with the durative formulas with *estar*. But let us postpone this problem for a moment, until we have considered the relationship between durative formula and simple verb form.

The simple verbal nuclei are FALO 'I speak' for an event not recalled or anticipated, FALAREI 'I will speak' for an anticipated event, FALAVA 'I spoke, I was speaking' for the imperfective aspect (neither initiative nor terminative but the middle of the event) of a recalled event, FALEI 'I spoke, I have spoken' for the perfective aspect (time-lapse irrelevant, sometimes initial or terminal point) of a recalled event, FALARIA 'I would speak' for anticipation that is recalled. These four basic time axes—present, anticipating, recalled and recalled anticipating—corre-

spond roughly to Bull's four axes of orientation,² and are to be considered for our purposes the basic simple forms of the BP verb system. Within this basic scheme we have an aspectual distinction in recalled time between imperfective and perfective. It might be noted that it is this usage of the term 'aspect' that prevents us from using the term in describing the functions of the durative formulas, where it could conceivably fit. Marginally we also have FALARA 'I had spoken,' equivalent to TINHA FALADO, for an anterior recalled event. Finally there are the parallel subjunctive forms FALE (present), FALAR (future) and FALASSE (past). Our best approach to the functions of the durative formulas will be to compare them with simple verbal nuclei of the same tense and aspect or, to be more exact, to treat them as transformations of the simple forms and note any changes in meaning. For this we will return to *estar* plus participle.

We might best discern the relationship by beginning with a form in which the auxiliary is present but neutral with respect to tense and aspect, for instance the infinitive form.

...um homem...capaz de estar escrevendo ou de ter escrito um livro '...a man...who can be writing or have written a book' / Tenho que estar observando tudo o que êle diz 'I have to be observing everything he says' / Dansar com êle é o mesmo que estar dansando sôzinha 'Dancing with him is the same as dancing by yourself' / Quer garantir-se...contra os imprevistos que a sua consciência há he estar esperando sempre 'He wants to protect himself...against the unforeseen events that he can't help expecting all the time'

Substitution here of the simple infinitives *escrever*, *observar*, *dansar*, *esperar* suggests that the difference is one between specificity and generality: *Estar escrevendo* implies a focus of attention on a single point or a series of points within a continuous event—even though in the infinitive form the time at which this focus takes place is not specified—whereas *escrever* implies no such focus. We therefore adopt the term FOCUS³ to refer to the function of a durative formula of specifying the point of attention within a durative situation. In ESTAR FALANDO we see a focus point with a continuous situation stretching an indeterminate distance before and after it.

²William E. Bull, *Time, tense and the verb: a study in theoretical and applied linguistics, with particular attention to Spanish*. University of California Publications in Linguistics, Vol. 19 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960).

³For this suggestive term I am indebted to Martin Joos.

The tense of the auxiliary indicates the actual time of focus relative to the surrounding chain of events. ESTOU FALANDO is normally oriented to the moment of speaking, although like FALO it may be oriented to an anticipated or a recalled time.

Eu vejo, meu Deus, eu estou vendo! 'I can see! My God, I'm seeing!' / Como é que o telhado da casa está encostando nas nuvens? 'Why is the roof of the house leaning against the clouds?' / Seu Leocadio...já está compondo o epitáfio 'Leocadio is already composing the epitaph' / A senhora parece que está pensando com a minha cabeça 'You seem to be thinking my very own thoughts' / O olhar que o pai lhes lança parece que está dizendo... 'The look that the father casts at them seems to be saying...' / Quando sou bom para os outros, estou sendo mau para mim 'When I'm good to others I'm being bad to myself'

Even when accompanied by a generalizing adverb ESTOU FALANDO remains focused, but the focus point is as it were distributed over an indefinite number of points of attention:

A gente sempre está pecando 'People are always sinning' / A todo o momento estão discutindo 'They're discussing at all times'

FALO in the above examples is ambiguous because of its potentiality of making a general statement, a distinction which becomes obvious when we compare *eu vejo* with *eu estou vendo*, *pensa* with *está pensando*, and so on. FALO can of course function in much the same way as a focus form, especially when it is focused lexically by means of an adverb. There is little distinguishable difference between *agora eu fico curioso* and *agora eu estou ficando curioso* 'Now I'm getting curious,' or between *já vou!* and *já estou indo!* 'I'm on my way!'

The formula ESTAREI FALANDO occurs but is very uncommon. The non-focused FALAREI itself is not common in colloquial use, the complex VOU FALAR having taken over much of the function of anticipation. But this last is only infrequently transformed into VOU ESTAR FALANDO.

A qualquer momento, estarei ouvindo os passos 'At every moment I will be hearing the steps'

The dimension of focus added to FALAVA produces ESTAVA FALANDO. Since FALAVA itself is frequently focused by its context—a concurrent event that takes place within its span, usually in the FALEI form—there is often little basis for distinguishing the two except perhaps to say that the durative formula emphasizes the focus more strongly. But FALAVA is also

used to describe the imperfective aspect of narrated events where there is no question of focus or of providing background information to a narrative, a function clearly distinguishing it from ESTAVA FALANDO.

Gritou que mamãe estava me chamando 'He hollered that Mama was calling me' / A coisa estava-lhe saindo maravilhosa 'The affair was turning out marvelously for him' / Também não estava entendendo coisa nenhuma 'He wasn't getting anything either' / Fingi que não estava percebendo nada 'I pretended I wasn't noticing anything'

Substitution of *saía, entendia* in the above examples immediately reveals the distinction by removing the element of focus which here implies a concurrent event. *A coisa saía-lhe maravilhosa* could be rendered by 'the affair turned out (used to turn out) marvelously for him.'

The corresponding perfective form is ESTIVE FALANDO, the form in which the time dimension is collapsed. This means that ESTIVE FALANDO is never used as the event within whose span another event takes place, but is always independent of implication of another event—in other words, it advances the narrative and does not provide background information. *Estive lendo* does not imply something like *quando ele chegou* as *estava lendo* does, and as English 'I was reading' unavoidably implies something like 'when he arrived.' The non-relevance of the time span in a durative appears to be a contradiction of some sort, but it means simply that the focus point itself has been placed uppermost. In this the speaker of Portuguese possesses a neat means of distinguishing in recalled perfective events between the initiative or terminative aspect of an event (FALEI) and the mid-point of an event conceived as a complete unity (ESTIVE FALANDO). In simpler terms, FALEI indicates the beginning or ending point of an event while ESTIVE FALANDO gives a momentary glimpse into involvement in a situation.

Hoje estive lendo à tarde 'This afternoon I was reading' / Se esquece do artigo que esteve escrevendo esta mesma tarde 'He forgets the article he was writing this very afternoon' / Um dia destes estive pensando muito 'One day recently I was thinking a lot' / Estive vendo que eu penso mais em Vasco 'I saw that I am thinking more about Vasco'

The difference is apparent if we substitute the perfective simple forms *li, escreveu, pensei, vi*, all of which indicate completion of the action.

ESTARIA FALANDO is possible, but like ESTAREI FALANDO is extremely uncommon.

A portuguêsã bem que o estaria admirando... 'Even though the Portuguese woman would be admiring him...'

This rarity suggests that the speaker seldom finds it necessary to specify the dimension of focus in an anticipating situation.

We have seen all the durative formulas with *estar* matching the five basic simple forms. We do in addition find ESTIVERA FALANDO matching FALARA, although very infrequently:

Felippe trouxe-lhe a lista: um havia conversado no salão, outro estivera rindo-se alto... 'Felippe took him the list: one of them had talked in the classroom, another one had been laughing out loud...'

Subjunctive forms function in the same ways as the simple subjunctive forms, with the addition of the element of focus.

E depois não exige que a gente esteja falando 'And afterwards he doesn't demand that you be talking' / Quero que êle nos veja bem juntinhos, se não estiver dormindo 'I want him to see us being cozy, if he's not sleeping' / E como se eu estivesse conversando comiga mesma 'It is as though I were talking to myself'

There is one more highly significant fact about the function of durative formulas in Portuguese that we must note before undertaking a comparison with the English durative formulas. This is that any verb may be focused under any circumstances, with the sole exception of the verb *estar* itself. We observe many usages which do not correspond to durative expressions in English:

Não estou entendendo nada, patrão 'I don't understand any of it, boss' / Em pouco ela está valendo cinco mil-réis 'In a little while it will be worth five milreis' / Estou adivinhando...que este foi enrolado pelas suas mãos 'My guess is...that this one [cake] was made by your hands' / Que diabo vocês pensam que êle está querendo? 'What the devil do you think it is he wants?' / Come pouco, e, como D^a Luisa insista—"O senhor não está gostando..." 'He eats little, and, as Dona Luisa insists, "You don't like it..."' / Mas agora estou compreendendo! 'But now I get it!' / Está me ouvindo? 'Do you hear?' / De homens como Mundinho Falcão é que estamos precisando 'It's men like Mundinho Falcão that we need'

The fact that many of these may be rendered by durative formulas in English by substituting a different verb ('I'm not getting

any of it, what...is he looking for, you are not enjoying it, 'are you listening to me') does not change the basic fact that English has a small group of common verbs—Joos' 'relation' verbs⁴—which permit durative formulas only under special circumstances. These are verbs like 'have,' 'look like,' 'taste,' 'lead,' 'understand' which express basically unchanging characteristics, those characteristics that are conceived of as an essential part of an individual or of the society as a whole: He has a lot of money, He looks like his father, The milk tastes sour [even though it may not always have tasted sour], This road leads to town, I understand it. We have all heard such verbs misused by speakers of other languages who did not know that durative formulas are permitted here only when the speaker is forced to recognize a change (He's looking more and more like his father every day, Her soup is tasting better these days) or when the verb happens also to function as a 'process' verb (He is tasting the soup, She's still leading him around by the nose), the group in which a durative formula functions as the regular nonpast narrative form: He is opening the window, The dog is barking, She is cooking dinner.⁵ If a 'process' verb is used in a simple form, not a durative formula, it normally refers to what is generally or habitually the case, it describes: He opens the window, The dog barks, Dogs bark, She cooks dinner; in general it refers to a single event only under special circumstances, such as when the uttering of the verb form is accompanied by the event itself (First I take off the lid...), when the verb form is oriented to whatever moment the event takes place, as in a play (John enters) or when a newspaper proclaims an event and implies that its validity begins only then (President holds press conference). This of course does not exhaust the possibilities.

None of this is true of Portuguese. The simple present tense form of any verb may make a general statement or it may be oriented to a present point, most often the moment of speaking: *êle pensa, come, escreve, compreende, gosta, quer* 'He thinks, eats, writes, understands, likes, wants' or 'He is thinking, eating, writing, getting, enjoying, looking for.' If the speaker chooses he may render the orientation to a present point—the focus—explicit by expanding any verb except *estar* into a durative formula. We have already seen that when this is done to verbs which in English belong in the 'relation' class, a

⁴Martin Joos, *Process and relation verbs in English*, paper read at the December, 1959 meeting of the Linguistic Society of America.

⁵Joos' test of a 'relation' verb is not rarity in durative formulas but impossibility of its use for the immediate future.

'process' verb must often be substituted in translating ('understands, likes, wants' but 'is getting, is enjoying, is looking for'). Put more simply, the difference in the present tense between simple verb and durative formula is in a sense grammatical in English but stylistic in Portuguese.

In the past tense the relationships change radically. The English simple past tense form of a 'process' verb narrates (He ate and left, He wrote the letter), and the same form of either a 'process' or a 'relation' verb may be descriptive (He ate that way all the time, He always wrote fast, He liked ice cream). To avoid the ambiguity of the simple past form of 'process' verbs English uses 'used to' and 'would' for the descriptive past (He used to eat, He would write, He used to like). The English durative formula in the past supplies background to a narrative (He was eating, He was writing), and essentially the same rules apply for the separation into 'process' and 'relation.' If we simplify considerably so as not to stray too far from our main interest here, we can say that in general the English and Portuguese forms match better in the past than in the present: The Portuguese past perfective narrates (*êle comeu, escreveu, gostou*), the past imperfective describes or supplies background information (*êle comia, escrevia, gostava*), the imperfective durative formula supplies background information (*êle estava comendo, estava escrevendo, estava gostando*) and the perfective durative formula narrates without specifying initiation or termination (*êle esteve comendo, esteve escrevendo, esteve gostando*).

We see that in English 'he is writing' is what we might call an expansion of 'he writes,' but not of 'he is.' But when we consider formally similar formulas like 'he starts writing,' 'he stops writing,' they turn out to be not transformations of 'he writes' but of 'he starts,' 'he stops' (plus 'he writes'). The reason why they cannot be said to be elaborations of 'he writes' is that the finite verbs do not simply tell something about the way in which the action of writing is viewed but modify its meaning with their own independent meanings. This leads to the conclusion that in English only the durative formula with the auxiliary 'be' may assume the narrative function we have noted, all formally similar formulas being either further expansions of this (he keeps writing) or verb plus participial complement. Let us see how this compares with the situation in Portuguese.

The most obvious form to continue with is *ir* 'to go' plus participle. Comparison with *estar* plus participle shows that *FALANDO* indicates the same indeterminate extension of the verbal meaning forward and backward, but that the auxiliary focuses on a specific point only incidentally if at all. In a sense, then,

VOU FALANDO is an expansion of FALO which is the opposite of ESTOU FALANDO in the relative importance of the two elements of focus and duration. In the following examples we accordingly find no contextual evidence of orientation to an implied point or to another event, which would be tantamount to focus.

Esta tendência vai crescendo 'This tendency is increasing' / O câncerzinho começa como um tímido botão e depois se vai abrindo 'The cancer begins as a timid bud and then spreads out' / Estou convencido de que os animais ensinam uns aos outros o que vão aprendendo 'I am convinced that animals teach each other what they learn' / O professor vai entreabrindo os olhos 'The professor half opens his eyes' / A voz arrastada vai dizendo 'Her dragging voice talks on and on' / (Renato vai desanimando) '(Renato becomes crest-fallen)'

This particular durative formula is perhaps the most difficult to render adequately in English, which possesses no ready means of expressing continuity without implying a focus point. Substitution of *cresce*, *abre*, *aprendem*, *entreabre*, *diz*, *desanima* cancels the meaning of continuity or progressivity, and substitution of formulas with *estar* implies in every case a focus point. It is not without significance that ESTOU FALANDO is not found in the imperative form—from which we might conclude that the Portuguese speaker does not find it useful to project the element of focus into the realm of suggestion—but the imperative form of VOU FALANDO is fairly common:

Então vá descrevendo os bichos 'Well, go ahead and describe the animals' / Vá falando sem preocupação 'Go ahead and talk, don't worry' / Vão sentando, meninas 'Have a seat, girls' / Vá tirando a roupinha 'Off with your clothes!' / Vamos vivendo 'Let's live!'

When the context includes a focus expression VOU FALANDO assumes focus and is not distinguishable from ESTOU FALANDO:

A água agora vai tomando uma cor leitosa 'Now the water is taking on a milky color' / Quando parece que vou começando a compreender-lo, lá vem uma frase misteriosa 'Just when it seems I'm beginning to understand him, there comes one of those mysterious sentences'

IREI FALANDO occurs but is infrequent:

Irei sonhando com o meu ideal impossível 'I will proceed to dream about my impossible ideal' / Ao abrir-se a cortina são quase seis horas da tarde, pois que a cena, oportunamente, irá escurecendo

'When the curtain opens it is nearly 6 P.M.; so the stage will grow dark at some appropriate time'

IA FALANDO indicates duration without the implication of background to another event characteristic of ESTAVA FALANDO, which means that it is difficult to distinguish from FALAVA. The only difference is the element of continuity in the former which is lacking in the latter; the durative form of some verbs has a meaning of repetition while the simple form specifies only the middle of the action.

Ao ver que todas iam sendo recusadas... 'When he saw that all of them were being refused...' / Os dias iam-se passando 'The days passed' / Tão bem que eu ia indo e afundei, perdi tudo 'Even though I went along fine for a while, I sank, I lost everything' / O homem...ia pensanda talvez na filha trintona 'The man...was probably thinking about his thirty-year-old daughter' / Desenvolvia seu argumento, ia citando...todos os interesses a ligá-lo à zona 'He developed his argument, cited all the interests that bound him to the area'

It is considerably more difficult to distinguish focused from non-focused examples of IA FALANDO than of VOU FALANDO, since at least some element of focus is usually present. In some cases where a focus expression appears in the context, IA FALANDO can hardly be distinguished from ESTAVA FALANDO at all:

Agora, acabada o jantar, a noite ia cahindo sobre a Villa 'Now, supper finished, night was descending on the Villa' / Quando ia saindo com a xicara, perguntei 'When I was going out with the cup, I asked' / Lembrava-se da ocasião em que ia caindo num precipício 'He remembered the occasion on which he was falling from a cliff' / Ao tempo em que ia aos poucos sabendo de coisas ... 'At the time in which I was gradually learning things...'

In such instances of the presence of focus in IA FALANDO, the only discernable distinction from ESTAVA FALANDO is the invariable presence of the element of continuity or progression which is always subordinated in the latter.⁶

⁶An interesting sidelight here is the fact that when a Portuguese speaker wants to say something equivalent to 'as I was saying,' he resorts to *como eu ia dizendo* (*contando*) more often than to *estava dizendo* (*contando*). We may see in this simply another example of the predominance of focus in this formula, but it is tempting to speculate as well on whether the speaker in using a form where focus is subordinated to duration is politely drawing attention away from the focus, which here would have to be the interruption.

In FUI FALANDO the same combination of continuity plus collapse of the time dimension is present as in ESTIVE FALANDO, except that here the focus to a specific time is usually absent. Being a perfective-durative form, it gives a durationless glimpse into a durative situation.

Com o tempo fui compreendendo tudo 'In time I found myself understanding everything' / A música do carrossel foi aos poucos diminuindo de intensidade, até que parou por completo 'The music of the carousel gradually diminished in intensity, until it stopped completely' / Leia sua lição. Fui lendo sem saber o que 'Read your lesson. I read without knowing what' / Deus quando fez o porco foi pensando no chiqueiro 'When God made the pig, he had the pigpen in mind' / Aos poucos, o ambiente foi-se fazendo mais alegre 'Gradually the surroundings became more cheerful' / Noel foi começando a ter uma visão deformada da vida 'Noel began to get a distorted view of life'

Substitution of *compreendi*, *diminui*, *li*, *pensou*, *fêz-se*, *começou* in these sentences shows that FUI FALANDO is an expansion of FALEI which avoids the latter's initiative or terminative aspect. Comparison with forms in ESTAVA FALANDO shows the lack of orientation to an implied or actual point in time. An occasional example of FUI FALANDO occurs with a focus expression:

Ao bater essas fotos, êle foi sentindo uma estranha pressão no cérebro 'When he developed those pictures, he felt a strange pressure on his brain'

No examples of IRIA FALANDO were found, but FÔRA FALANDO appears to be possible:

Fôra crescendo aos poucos no correr de mais de cinqüenta anos 'It had gone on growing gradually in the course of more than fifty years'

These examples have shown us no juxtapositions in which the verb *ir* can be said to have independent meaning and a participle as complement, so we are justified in accepting them as durative formulas. Only exceptionally do we find an apparent formula which is at least doubtful:

Foi correndo avisar E. 'He went running to notify E.'

Since we have established the relations between the various tense and aspect forms as essentially predictable, we will hereafter not discuss them separately, saving time and space for

consideration of the function of the auxiliary as such. Durative formulas with *andar* 'to go, walk' can be disposed of quickly, being merely a variation on *ir* and sometimes *estar* in durative formulas.

Mas que será que anda fazendo por estas bandas? 'But what could she be doing in this neighborhood?' / Estou maduro: ando beirando os quarenta 'I am mature: I'm nearing forty' / Mamãe anda fazendo promessas a todos os santos 'Mama is going around making promises to all the saints' / ...pra ver o que os camaradas andavam fazendo '...to see what the boys were doing' / Nacib preferia vender sua parte, andou fazendo o dinheiro render 'Nacib preferred to sell his share, he made the money yield'

Viver 'to live' is a doubtful case. Though usually the verb retains its independent meaning, occasionally it substitutes for *ir* as an auxiliary.

Por isso mesmo vivia dizendo que era o mais ignorante dos homens 'Just for this reason he kept saying he was the most ignorant of men' / Os livros que tu vives lendo... 'The books you read all the time...' / Depois do perdão de sua mãe, cujo beijo vivo reproduzindo na memória... 'After the forgiveness from your mother, whose kiss I keep reproducing in my memory...'

But it is impossible to say that the meaning 'to live' does not linger in all of these examples, which would make them resemble clear cases of verb plus complement such as

Vivi longos anos sózinho, aprofundando-me em estudos inúteis 'I lived long years alone, immersing myself in useless studies'

The extremely common verb *ficar* has the general meanings corresponding to English 'to be' and 'to get.' In a durative formula the verb functions as auxiliary retaining some of the independent meaning of 'become,' the whole formula having the meaning of 'begin and continue'—another concept rather difficult to render adequately in English.

Clarissa fica olhando fixamente para o chão 'Clarissa looks fixedly at the ground' / Abre, lê e fica sabendo de todos os meus segredos 'She'll open it, read it, and find out all my secrets' / Clarissa olha e fica pensando 'Clarissa looks and gets to thinking' / Vá, mas fica sabendo que se o Burro entrar nesta casa... 'Go, but be sure you realize that if the Burro should enter this house...' / E depois de uma pausa, olhando o relógio (só por hábito, porque nem fica sabendo que horas são) diz: 'And after a pause, looking

at his watch (just out of habit, because he does not find out what time it is) he says: ' / Eu fiquei me lembrando de coisas de criança 'I began remembering things from my girlhood' / Íamos para os nossos quartos e ficávamos vivendo lá 'We went to our rooms and started living there'

The fact that *ficar* also occurs with a participle as complement in a perceptibly different meaning suggests that the examples given above should be treated as genuine durative formulas:

Fiquei num canto, roendo as unhas, olhando os pés do finado 'I stayed to one side, chewing my nails and looking at the feet of the deceased'

A further means of delimiting the meaning of FICO FALANDO is comparison with the formulas COMEÇO FALANDO and PRINCIPIO FALANDO. If we substitute an appropriate form of the verb *começar* in the examples with *ficar* we find that we have added a far more explicit meaning of initiation than *ficar* implies; *começa sabendo de todos os meus segredos, nem começa sabendo que horas são, eu comecei me lembrando* all specify a definite beginning of an event, but *fica sabendo, fiquei me lembrando* merely suggest a beginning while placing emphasis on the duration itself. This places the formulas with *ficar* in close proximity with simple verb forms, especially those with an initiative meaning or used in a situation producing such a meaning (e.g. in the FALEI form). Substitution of *olha, sabe, pensa, me lembrei* shows that the principal alteration of meaning has been the loss of the durative element. The real function of durative formulas with *ficar*, then, is to render explicit such an initiative meaning in any verb whatsoever, not only in those where an initiative meaning would already be present. *Soube* and *fiquei sabendo* 'I found out' are both initiative, but *compreendi* 'I understood' must be transformed into *fiquei compreendendo* 'I began to understand' before it is initiative.

We also find *sair* used in durative formulas in a meaning very close to *ficar* except that a certain degree of the independent meaning of action or motion probably remains:

Cosas...que Vasco vai ler, para depois sair contando... 'Things that Vasco is going to read and then go tell about...' / Depois saímos dansando 'Then we started dancing'

The formulas with *começar* and *principiar* 'to begin' can be styled genuine durative formulas if at all only because they are syntactically parallel to those with auxiliaries such as *estar, ir,*

ficar, since there is no distinguishable change in the independent meaning of the verbs:

Comecei estudando o inglês 'I started studying English' / Percebi que eu fôra uma bêsta, sim agora que principiava sendo alguém 'I saw that I had been stupid, now that I was beginning to be someone'

Uncommon but possible is a formula with *continuar*, also with its full independent meaning:

Achava...engraçada e ainda continua achando 'He thought it was amusing and still thinks so' / Continuarei esperando que meu irmão, um dia, me abra os braços 'I will continue hoping that some day my brother will open his arms to me'

A considerably more interesting durative formula is the one with *vir* 'to come' as auxiliary. This functions in two different ways depending upon the meaning of the verb in the FALANDO form. If this is *vir* itself or one of a number of verbs indicating motion, the auxiliary provides a general durative expansion in both directions, the same as *ir* as auxiliary does; it is usually impossible to test for how much of the independent meaning of the verb remains.

Amor é uma coisa...que vem vindo...e chega! 'Love is a thing... that keeps coming...and arrives!' / O inverno vem chegando 'Winter is on its way' / Uma grande quantidade de frutas...vem descendo uma correnteza de rio 'A large quantity of fruit...comes down a rapids in the river' / o editor que vinha vindo...mas não veio... 'The editor who was on his way...but never arrived...'

If the verb is other than a motion verb, the auxiliary indicates what has been the case up to and including the point to which the finite form is oriented, usually with the additional meaning of 'more and more.'

O país vem sendo agitado por sucessivas demonstrações 'The country has been being agitated by successive demonstrations' / Eu já venho notando há muito tempo... 'I have been noticing for some time...' / Venho calculando dia a dia...o fim da fortuna que dei ao meu irmão 'I have been calculating day by day...the end of the fortune I gave my brother' / Produzindo borracha sintética já vem tendo uso comercial 'Producing synthetic rubber has been finding increasing commercial use' / Logo informou sobre o que vinha acontecendo em sua casa 'Then he told about what had been happening in his house' / Enquanto...falavam, vim pensando 'While they were talking, I have been thinking'

There are cases, though, in which it is difficult to insist that the auxiliary has only one meaning and not the other:

O vulto se aproxima, vem vindo de vagar...vem crescendo, vem se definindo 'The figure comes closer, approaches slowly...grows, becomes clearer and clearer'

The test for a durative formula in the cases in which the FALANDO verb is not a verb of motion might then be the presence of the meaning 'has been (more and more).' This rules out combinations such as

Vem Segurando a bandeja com a terrina da sopa 'She comes clutching the tray with the soup dish'

This, however, makes our argument circular, since our real goal is some predictability of meaning from formal criteria and not the other way around. Here, as in all the durative formulas except those with *estar*, we do have a formal test for cases in which the context does not contain an element that rules out a durative formula: the form into which the verbal combination in question can be transformed with minimal change in meaning. This will show that *vem sendo*, *venho notando*, *venho calculando* are elaborations on *é*, *noto*, *calculo* but that *vem segurando* (in the example above) is not *segura* but *vem e segura* or *vem e está segurando* or even *vem vindo e está segurando*.

If we look once more at *vem sendo*, *venho notando*, *venho calculando* and compare them with *tem sido*, *tenho notado*, *tenho calculado*, both of which are normally glossed in English as 'has been, have been noticing, have been calculating,' we note that the durative formulas include the orientation point of the verb in the duration time: *venho notando* is 'I have been noticing and still am,' and *tenho notado* is 'I have been noticing but no longer am.'

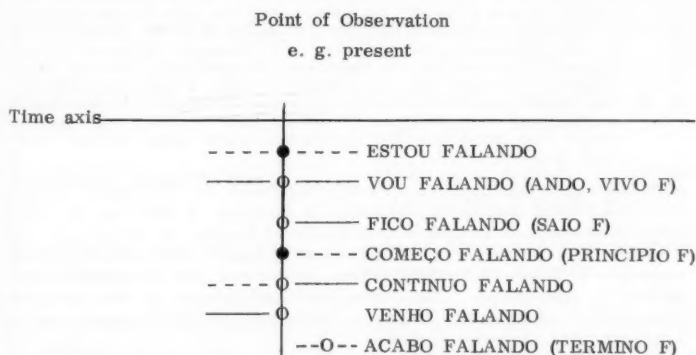
The durative formulas with *acabar* 'to finish' represent a special case in that they are the only ones in which the place of focus is not the same as the time of orientation of the auxiliary verb. These formulas predict, and always point ahead of the orientation time.

Se continuo nesta vida, acabo ficando velha de-pressa 'If I continue in this life, I'll end up getting old in a hurry' / Se casasse com alguém, acabava fugindo 'If he got married to anyone, he'd wind up running away' / Acabou fechando a janela também 'Finally he closed the window too' / Acabou indo sentar no outro lado 'He ended up taking a seat on the other side' / Acabou pedindo desculpa 'He finally apologized'

It is interesting to note in passing that no examples were found in which ACABO FALANDO was oriented to the moment of speaking. *Acabo ficando velha* is a present form oriented to anticipated time. An uncommon equivalent form is *terminar*:

Nacib preferia vender sua parte, andou fazendo o dinheiro render..., terminou adquirindo o bar 'Nacib preferred to sell his share, he made the money yield...[and] ended up acquiring the bar'

At this point we might represent visually the semantic relationships of all the durative formulas we have considered. Here we have to represent (a) the time continuum along which all events are conceived in a certain order relationship, (b) the point from which an event is viewed, which will here be present but which could as well be any of the other three basic tense orientations, (c) the point of focus with relation to the point of observation, a solid circle if the focus is a major element in the durative formula and a hollow one if it is not, (d) the conception of duration in each formula with relation to the focus point, a solid line if the duration is uppermost and a dotted line if it is subordinate. The length of the line representing duration is of course arbitrary.



What Portuguese has here is a series of elaborations on the five basic tense and aspect forms which relate the verbal event in a variety of ways to the time point at which the event is viewed. Many of these formulas add no new meaning that is not already inherent in some forms of some verbs, but their real use to the language comes in the fact that this entire set of specific ways of viewing an event can be applied to any verb in--theoretically--all its tense-aspect permutations. The fact

that there is in actual usage a certain amount of the exclusion we expect in a natural language (*andar* is not normally used with certain verbs of motion such as *cair*, *vir* or some others such as *ser*, *morrer*; *sair* has similar limitations; *viver* is not acceptable with many verbs like *cair*, *ir*, *sair*, *ficar*) does not alter the statement of overall functions.⁷ Still it seems obvious that not all seven elaborations should be accorded equal status, because somehow ESTOU FALANDO and VOU FALANDO are more basic than, say, COMEÇO FALANDO or ACABO FALANDO. ESTOU FALANDO and VOU FALANDO specify meanings which are already inherent in FALO itself, and add nothing to the meaning of the verb *falar* except this specification of focus and duration. All the rest of the durative formulas differ in that the auxiliary bears a certain amount of independent meaning—even if it is highly modified as in SAIO FALANDO and VENHO FALANDO—in addition to the tense and aspect markers of focus.

⁷For the sake of completeness it should be mentioned that FALANDO can in some instances be replaced by A FALAR, although this is not common in Brazil:

É como se a rapariga estivesse estado a ler-lhe os pensamentos mais íntimos 'It is as if the girl has been reading her most intimate thoughts' / Éle agora está a sorrir-lhe com a mesma ternura 'He is now smiling at her with the same tenderness' / Ando a estudar as teorias da reencarnação 'I am studying the theories of reincarnation' / Clarissa fica a imaginar... 'Clarissa gets to imagining...' / Salu a caminhar lentamente 'He started out slowly' / A fogueira começa a morrer 'The fire begins to die down' / E ainda vive a senhora dona Carlota a dizer que Sua Alteza é um parvo 'And dona Carlota still keeps saying that your Highness is a fool'

Although it does appear that A FALAR substitutes for FALANDO in these examples without perceptible alteration of meaning, it must not be overlooked that basically FALAR is an indicator of futurity, as we see in VOU FALAR, HEI DE FALAR and perhaps even FALAREI and FALARIA if one considers *ei* and *ia* to be independent morphemes and not suffixes (note *fazê-lo-ei*, *levá-lo-ia*). The verbs *ficar* and *começar* in the examples above are compatible with a future indication (see the diagram) and we frequently find examples such as

O corcunda apoderara-se duma garrafa e estava quase a esviá-la 'The hunchback had gotten hold of a bottle and was about to empty it' / A cabeça de Professor Joaquim desgovernou-se, éle estêve a cair 'Professor Joaquim lost control of his head; he was on the point of falling'

Other examples—and this is a separate open list—show the same relation of futurity with respect to the finite verb: *põe-se a andar*, *toma a refletir*, *rompe a correr*, *entra a falar*, *chega a dizer*, *vem a ler*, *torna a esconder*, *volta a caminhar*, all of them containing some variety of meaning 'to begin.'

This appears clearly in the above diagram when we observe that all the auxiliaries except *estar* and *ir* limit the duration in some way, which amounts to saying that they add some independent meaning of their own. Our last task will be to see whether all but those with *estar* and *ir* should be considered verb plus complement.

It is easy, as we have seen, to say we have not a durative formula but a verb with a participle as complement in those instances in which there is contextual evidence that the finite verb is not being used as an auxiliary, as in *ela foi a casa, queixando-se dos alunos* 'she went home, complaining about the pupils.' On this basis we might devise a simple comparison test:

<i>está falando</i> 'he's talking'	<i>está aqui, falando...</i> 'he is here, talking...'
<i>vai falando</i> 'he's talking'	<i>vai a casa, falando</i> 'he goes home talking'
<i>anda falando</i> 'he's talking'	<i>anda comigo, falando</i> 'he goes with me, talking'
<i>vive falando</i> 'he's talking'	<i>vive sozinho, falando</i> 'he lives alone, talking'
<i>fica falando</i> 'he gets to talking'	<i>fica na casa, falando</i> 'he is in the house, talking'
<i>sai falando</i> 'he goes talking'	<i>sai da casa, falando</i> 'he leaves the house, talking'
<i>vem falando</i> 'he has been talking'	<i>vem da cidade, falando</i> 'he comes from town, talking'
<i>acaba falando</i> 'he'll end up talking'	<i>acaba o trabalho, falando</i> 'he finishes the work, talking'
<i>continua falando</i> 'he continues talking'	<i>continua a viagem, falando</i> 'he continues the trip, talking'
<i>começa falando</i> 'he starts talking'	<i>começa o jantar, falando</i> 'he begins dinner, talking'

This comparison immediately separates out as nothing but independent verb plus complement the formulas with *continuar* and

começar (plus *principiar*) and perhaps also with *acabar* (and *terminar*) unless one attaches significance to the fact that *acabo falando* means 'I end up being in the act of talking' and not 'I finish the act of talking.' This list—which we expect to be an open and not a closed one—could be extended with further examples such as

Deixei-o fazendo o arrolamento 'I left him making the inventory'
/ Fala mesclando as frases com locuções em frances 'He speaks
mixing up his sentences with French expressions'

As for the rest, a syntactic test does not permit any distinction between durative formula and verb plus complement, since in every case the two sides display an evident distinction in meaning. We could of course eliminate all but those with *estar* and perhaps *ir* if we could say that only these two are mandatory in certain narrative situations as similar formulas are in English, but we have seen that this is not the case. Grammatically *estar*, *ir*, *ficar*, *vir*, perhaps *acabar*, and the marginal *andar*, *viver*, *sair* and *terminar* must be said all to enjoy equal status. Our sole means of introducing a division into this group then appears to be the appeal to the semantic relationships shown in the diagram. The formulas with *estar* and *ir* are the two 'basic' durative formulas, each having an unlimited duration plus a focus point, and each subordinating one to the other. The others are likewise durative formulas but, since in each case the duration has some limitation imposed upon it by the focus form, they stand between durative formula and verb plus complement.

POSITION AND ORDER OF MODIFIER-MODIFIERS

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0. In my paper on form-classes and sub-classes in Vol. VIII, 3 and 4 of *LANGUAGE LEARNING*, I gave some examples of what I call modifiers of modifiers, or modifier-modifiers (see page 10 of that issue). In this paper I shall deal with these more fully.

1. Definitions

In what follows, centers of expressions will be printed in ordinary type, modifiers in *italic type* and modifier-modifiers in heavy type.

1.2. Abbreviations: Centers of substantive and finite verb expressions (i.e. substantives and finite verbs) will be marked C. Modifiers of such centers will be marked M. Modifiers of M's will be marked MM₁. Modifiers of MM₁'s will be marked MM₂, etc. Example: Not so very many too many new

MM₆ MM₅ MM₄ MM₃ MM₂ MM₁ M
books. This shows that new modifies books, many modifies C
new, too modifies many, etc.¹

1.3. Where an expression consists of more than one word, parentheses will be used to show where the expression begins and ends. Example: so strong (that it can't break). This
MM₁ M MM₂
shows that so modifies strong and that the expression that it can't break as a whole modifies so.

1.4. No distinction will be made between free and bound MM's (i.e. the analysis will be morphemic).

¹Those who prefer immediate constituent analysis can say that new modifies books, many modifies new books, too modifies many new books, etc.

Examples: *the most beautiful girl* and *the oldest girl*.

M MM₁ M C M M MM₁ C

Here *-est* modifies *old* in the same way as *most* modifies *beautiful*.

1.5. These last two examples also illustrate modifiers of parallel rank: *the* and *beautiful* (or *old*) are both M's; i.e. *the* modifies *girl*, not *beautiful* (or *old*).

1.6. Where a MM is separated from the expression it modifies, I use an arrow to show its connection with the latter. Example: *almost the only other one*. This shows that *almost*

MM₁ M M M C

modifies *only*, not *the*.

1.7. In all cases where there is no arrow and there are two or more parallel expressions, the MM modifies the nearest M, or, if it is both preceded and followed by M's, the one that follows: Examples: *a board red underneath* (here *underneath*

M C M MM₁

modifies *red*); *his (to me) incomprehensible jargon* (here *to me*

M MM₁ M

modifies *incomprehensible*, not *his*).

2. Patterns

2.1. I distinguish five main classes of MM's: (a) *enough*; (b) other one word MM's; (e.g. *very*); (c) MM's consisting of bound morphemes (e.g.: *-er* in *bigger*); (d) MM's that are substantive expressions consisting of more than one word (e.g. *a lot*), or "prepositional phrases"² (e.g. *by no means*); and (e) MM's consisting of more than one word that are *-ing* phrases, clauses, or phrases with *to* + infinitive.² (e.g. *learning to read*, *where they meet the water*, and *to catch*).

2.2. I distinguish between three positions relative to the center: (a) Pre-Center (e.g. *very good horses*); (b) Post-Center (e.g.

MM₁ M C

shoes *red underneath*); (c) Pre- and Post-Center (e.g. *the only*

C M MM₁

M M

house (to buy)).

C MM₁

²I use traditional terminology here for convenience' sake.

2.3. Here are the patterns I distinguish (a. through e. refer to para 2.1., above. A dash (-) means that the pattern does not occur. Square brackets [] are used to enclose words which are extra to the pattern to be illustrated. Parentheses around M's and MM's indicate that these are optional in the patterns concerned. For parentheses around expressions consisting of more than one word, see 1.3., above):

2.4. As will be seen, a. & c. occur only immediately after the M (or MM) which they modify, and are the only MM's that follow the M (or MM) which they modify when it is in Pre-Center position.

2.5. b. occurs in Post-Center position only when it is an afterthought (see under $M + C + MM_1$ in the table).

2.6. When b. or d. are in the Pre-Center position, they always precede the M (or MM) which they modify.

2.7. Only d. and e. occur as MM_2 's in Post-Center position.

2.8. e. always follows both the C and the M (or MM) which it modifies.

2.9. Only e. occurs as MM_3 in Post-Center position.

Pattern	Pre-Center	Post-Center	Pre- and Post-Center
BEFORE (MM ₂ +) ³ MM ₁ + M	<p>(MM₂ +) MM₁ + M + C</p> <p>b. not very <i>good</i> horses.</p> <p>b. almost <i>all</i> people.</p> <p>b. <i>swiftly flowing</i> rivers.</p> <p>d. (in many ways) not so very much more <i>relevant</i> data.</p> <p>d. (by no means) <i>all</i> these books.</p> <p>d. [<i>his</i>] (to me) <i>incomprehensible</i> jargon.</p> <p>d. (a lot) more <i>interesting</i> stones.</p>	<p>C (+ MM₂) + MM₁ + M</p> <p>b. apartments almost exactly <i>below</i>.</p> <p>b. the rocks <i>quite</i> (<i>near where we live</i>).</p> <p>b. houses <i>just</i> (<i>at the bottom of the cliff</i>).</p> <p>b. [<i>the</i>] peak not so very much (<i>nearer that high one</i>).</p> <p>d. [<i>they</i>] go (a lot) more <i>rapidly</i>.</p>	—

³MM₂ can be expanded to MM₃ + MM₂, or MM₄ + MM₃ + MM₂, etc.

Pattern	Pre-Center	Post-Center
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Pattern	Pre-Center	Post-Center	Pre- and Post-Center
$(MM_2 +)^3$ $\overbrace{MM_1 + M + M}^{\uparrow}$ or $MM_2^3 + M + MM_1 + M$ (in each case, the first M is <i>a, an, the</i>)	$MM_1 + M + M + C$ $\overbrace{}^{\uparrow}$ b. not <i>a big</i> boy. d. (by no means) <i>a big</i> boy. $MM_2 + M + MM_1 + M + C$ b. not <i>a very big</i> boy.	— —	— —
<u>AFTER</u> $M + MM_1$	$M + MM_1 + C$ a. <i>good</i> enough teeth. c. <i>small er</i> teeth.	$C + M + MM_1$ a. rocks <i>small</i> enough [to carry]. ⁴ b. shoes <i>red</i> underneath. b. [a] shirt <i>wet</i> through. d. stones <i>flat</i> (on top). e. boys <i>slow</i> (learning to read). e. stones <i>flat</i> (where they meet the water).	$M + C + MM_1$ b. <i>all [the]</i> books [were suitable] nearly. d. [the] <i>only</i> shop (in our village). e. [the] <i>only</i> house (to buy).

⁴Note the difference between: *easy* enough (to open) (i.e. rather easy to open), and *loose* enough (to open) (i.e. so loose that it can be opened).

Pattern	Pre-Center	Post-Center	Pre- and Post-Center
M + MM ₁ + MM ₂	—	C + M + MM ₁ + MM ₂ e. men <i>younger</i> (than my grand- father). e. rocks <i>small</i> enough (to carry). e. [they] go <i>faster</i> (than ~ we/us/ we do).	M + MM ₁ + C + MM ₂ e. [the] <i>best</i> house (to buy) <i>younger</i> men (than my grand- father). e. [the] <i>fastest</i> man (to run a mile). e. <i>faster</i> runners (than ~ I/me/ I am) d. [the] <i>smallest</i> boy (in the class).
<u>MIXED</u> MM ₂ ² + M + MM ₁	MM ₂ + M + MM ₁ + C b. much <i>bigger</i> boats d. (by far) [the] <i>youngest</i> boy.	C + MM ₂ + M + MM ₁ [+ MM ₃] b. boats much <i>bigger</i> [(than mine)].	—

Pattern	Pre-Center	Post-Center	Pre-and Post Center
$MM_1 + M + MM_2$	—	$C + MM_1 + M + MM_2$ e. horses <i>too fast</i> (to catch).	$MM_1 + M + C + MM_2$ e. as <i>big</i> [<i>a</i>] ship (as the other). e. <i>too fast</i> [<i>a</i>] horse (to catch). e. <i>so strong</i> [<i>a</i>] rope (that it can't be broken).
$MM_2^2 + M + MM_1 + MM_3$	—	$C + MM_2 + M + MM_1 + MM_3$ e. boats much <i>bigger</i> (than mine)	$MM_2 + M + MM_1 + C + MM_3$ much <i>bigger</i> boats (than mine).

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SOME CONTRASTIVE FEATURES OF ENGLISH AND JAPANESE

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The purpose of this article is to point out what I consider to be some of the basic characteristics of English and Japanese.¹ It is not meant to be an exhaustive treatment by any means.² Rather, my aim is to treat a limited number of features in the two languages and demonstrate by means of examples that these features are basic characteristics of the linguistic systems concerned.

In English (and in most of the European languages) the idea of space or position (as opposed to that of time) seems to be extremely important. Words which indicate position or location abound in the language. This spatial concept usually seems to be expressed by means of what have traditionally been called "prepositions" and "prepositional adverbs." Instead of these more common terms, however, I will refer to them as *space words* in this article.

In sharp contrast with English, Japanese seems to have very few space words as such. Instead of the spatial concept, the element of time appears to be of utmost importance in Japanese. Since time, change, and action are so inextricably interwoven, it is not surprising, then, to find that the so-called "verbs" occupy an important place in Japanese expressions. As a matter of fact, one type of verbs in Japanese seems to perform the same function as do space words in English. I will call them *supplementary* (or *post*) *verbs*.

Let me illustrate this point concerning *equivalent* or *corresponding functions* in Japanese and English with a few examples. In the following tabulation of illustrations the Japanese forms

¹I am deeply indebted to Mr. S. M. Tsuzaki of the English Language Institute of The University of Michigan for his generous help in preparing this article.

²Interested readers will find a much more detailed and comprehensive discussion in some of my other publications. See, for example, *Nichiei Ryōgo Hyōgen Hikaku Shiron* (Kōbe, 1959); *Nichiei Ryōgo Hyōgen Hikaku no-Jissai* (Tokyo, 1959); *Shōgyō Eisakubun-Ten* (Tokyo, 1956).

are cited in Column I, the literal translations in Column II, and the English equivalents in Column III.³

I	II	III
tobi-koeru	jump-pass	jump over ⁴
" -mawaru	" -spin	" around
" -noku	" -leave	" back
" -noru	" -ride	" on
" -oriru	" -descend	" off
" -komu	" -crowd	" in
" -kakaru	" -catch	" up
" -haneru	" -jump	" up and down
" -tsuku	" -stick	" at
sagashi-mawaru	search-spin	hunt up and down
aruki- "	walk- "	walk about
hashiri- "	run- "	run "
mi- "	see- "	look around
kiri-toru	cut-take	cut off
kaki- "	write-	write down
sui- "	suck- "	suck up
hiki- "	draw-	take over
ochi-tsuku	settle-stick	settle down
yori- "	approach-	come near
omoi- "	think- "	think of
maki- "	coil- "	wrap around
nebari- "	stick- "	adhere to
oi- "	chase- "	catch up with
yuki- "	go-reach	arrive at
nage-tsukeru	hurl-attach	hurl at
ni- "	boil- "	boil up
oshi- "	press- "	press against
teri- "	shine- "	shine down on
kaki- "	write- "	write down
nuri- "	paint- "	smear with

³All Japanese forms in this paper are written in *Rōmaji*.

For the sake of simplicity both translations (i.e., the literal and the idiomatic) have been limited to one entry for every Japanese citation.

⁴There is also a triple-verb pattern in Japanese which corresponds with the English space word-plus-verb pattern. Here are some examples:

I	II	III
tachi-giki-suru	stand-hear-do	overhear
furi-dashi-sugiru	pull-push-exceed	overdraw
ki-kazari-sugiru	dress-decorate-exceed	overdress

uri- "	sell- "	force on
mi- "	look- "	find out
toki- "	talk- "	talk over
kake- "	run- "	hurry to
nomi-komu	swallow-crowd	gulp down
suwari- "	sit- "	sit (down) around
hik- "	draw- "	get back
abare- "	break- "	break into
korogari-"	roll- "	revolve on
kai- "	buy- "	buy out
kagami- "	stoop- "	lean over
tachi-komeru	stand- "	hang "
yari- "	do- "	put down

The data presented above seem to indicate that there is a definite correspondence of patterns between Japanese and English. That is, the Japanese pattern *principal-verb-plus-supplementary-verb* seems to be equivalent to the English pattern *verb-plus-space word*. The next set of examples illustrates the same general point. This time, however, the correspondence is between the English space word and the Japanese *and-plus-supplementary-verb*, instead of the simple supplementary verb without the connective *and* as in the first set. The English space words are given in context in Column I. Literal translations of the Japanese *double verbs* (i.e., the principal verb and the *and-plus-supplementary-verb*) are provided in Column II. In Column III the Japanese forms of the *and-plus-supplementary-verb* are cited.⁵

I	II	III
He walks <i>on</i> for two miles.	walk <i>and go</i>	<i>te yuku</i>
They are getting <i>along</i> very well.	pass " "	" "
The sun goes <i>down</i> in the west.	sink " "	<i>de yuku</i>
Go <i>away</i> . (Get <i>out</i> .)	leave " "	<i>te yuke</i>
Be on your <i>way</i> .	advance " "	<i>de yuke</i>

⁵This pattern, occurring only in colloquial Japanese, may be analyzed grammatically as a compound, gerund plus principal verb (*te* and *de* are alternant forms of the gerund inflection). In the same way, what we here call the English pattern of *verb plus space word* could be alternately labeled two-word verb.

The ship sailed <i>across</i> the lake.	sailed <i>and went</i>	<i>te itta</i>
The pen fell <i>off</i> the desk.	fell " "	" "
The rumor spread <i>abroad</i> .	enlarged " "	" "
Money was strewn <i>along</i> the path.	was strewn <i>and gone</i>	" "
I read <i>through</i> the book.	read <i>and went</i>	<i>de itta</i>
He will look <i>into</i> the matter.	will see <i>and see</i>	<i>te miru</i>
On closer inspection she finds that her mother is right.	closely inspect <i>and see</i>	" "
On his death he was found to be heavily in debt.	died <i>and saw</i>	<i>de mita</i>
After inquiring for a long time, I finally found the house.	heard " "	<i>te mita</i>

Although the examples presented up to this point can be multiplied many times, I am certain that these illustrations will suffice to demonstrate that space words are to English as supplementary verbs are to Japanese.

Another basic characteristic of expressions in each of the two languages can be demonstrated by considering forms which have usually been called "personal pronouns." Pronouns in English are so familiar to the reader that illustrations are superfluous. Rather, let us turn to the situation in Japanese. Although there are many forms in the language which may be referred to as personal pronouns, they are not used as frequently nor generally as in English. Instead, Japanese uses its rich store of verbs and utilizes a special type of supplementary verb pattern—the same type used in the immediately preceding set of examples above.

Allow me to illustrate this second general point in tabular form again. This tabulation is identical in arrangement with that of the immediately preceding one.

I	II	III
He helped <i>me</i> .	helped <i>and gave</i>	<i>te kureta</i>
She cooked supper <i>for us</i> .	cooked " "	" "
I offered <i>them</i> cigarettes.	offered " "	<i>te yatta</i>
I led <i>him</i> into the room.	led " "	" "
I am going to tell <i>you</i> a story.	tell <i>and give</i>	<i>te ageru</i>
She has no one to care <i>for her</i> .	care " "	" "
Please teach <i>me</i> some Spanish.	teach " "	<i>te kudasai</i>
Would you bring <i>me</i> my hat?	bring " "	" "
He mailed my letters <i>for me</i> .	mailed <i>and was given</i>	<i>te moratta</i>
He translated it <i>for us</i> .	translated " " "	" "
<i>You</i> will understand it soon.	understand <i>and come</i>	<i>te kuru</i>
Students bring their complaints <i>to me</i> .	complain " "	" "
Buy <i>me</i> some matches.	buy " "	<i>te kinasai</i>
They send <i>us</i> this message regularly.	send " "	<i>te kuru</i>
He waits for her to come <i>to him</i> .	come " "	" "
Drops of water will fall <i>on you</i> .	fall " "	" "
I forgot <i>my</i> umbrella.	forgot <i>and came</i>	<i>te kita</i>
I have some money <i>with me</i> .	brought " "	" "
Someone phoned <i>me</i> this morning.	phoned " "	" "
The boy followed <i>me</i> .	followed " "	" "
One of our friends visited <i>us</i> yesterday.	visited " "	" "
If <i>we</i> examine the data, we could find out.	examine <i>and see</i>	<i>te miru</i>

Let <i>us</i> walk to the park.	walk	" "	<i>te miyō</i>
<i>I</i> will try to write it.	write	" "	" "
<i>I</i> went over there.	went <i>and</i> saw		<i>te mita</i>
He applied the ointment to <i>his</i> hand.	applied	" "	" "
If left to <i>themselves</i> , they might not be able to do it.	left <i>and</i> put		<i>te oku</i>
He did not come in spite of <i>his</i> promise.	make	" "	" "
<i>I</i> advise <i>you</i> to visit the museum.	visit	" "	" "

The above examples can be expanded in number almost indefinitely. All of them, however, will show this relationship: the personal pronoun is to English as the verbal construction and-plus-supplementary-verb is to Japanese.

In summary, a contrastive analysis of English and Japanese expressions (though performed on a very restricted scale in this article) seems to reveal at least the following features. *Space words* and *personal pronouns* are characteristic of English whereas *supplementary verbs* (including special kinds of constructions) seem to be basic to Japanese. These respective elements seem to be *corresponding* or *equivalent functional units* in the two languages. Consequently, as far as verbs are concerned, English tends to use mono-verbal expressions while Japanese prefers to use poly-verbal patterns.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY: PREDICTING INTERFERENCE
AND FACILITATION FOR TAGALOG SPEAKERS IN
LEARNING ENGLISH NOUN-HEAD MODIFICATION PATTERNS

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The descriptive-comparative studies of two given languages make it possible to locate points of similarity and difference between these two languages, and to predict more precisely the interference and facilitation the speakers will encounter in learning the new language.

The purpose of this study was threefold: (1) to compare a part of English syntax with an equivalent part of Tagalog syntax; (2) to predict the points of interference and facilitation that will arise at this syntactical level for Tagalog speakers learning English and classify them on different levels of ease and difficulty; (3) to prepare sample testing materials based on the predicted points of interference and facilitation and to administer these tests to a sampling of Tagalog speakers to verify the predictions made.

Since the complete comparison of two languages is a task of great magnitude, this study was limited to some of the major noun-head modification structural patterns. The procedures for comparison set up by Robert Lado in his book, *Linguistics Across Cultures* (Ann Arbor 1957) were followed.

In the comparative analysis, the similarities and differences of English and Tagalog were assumed to be a function of three linguistic factors: *form*, *meaning*, and *distribution*. Form refers to the shape of the elements in isolated forms as well as in sequences, to the order of the elements, to stress, and to function words in relation to the other elements in the construction. Meaning refers to the grammatical meaning, that is, the modifier in its relation to the head. Distribution refers to the occurrence of the construction in the larger structural patterns of the language; this was restricted to subject function.

A one-to-one comparison will often make it immediately apparent why certain interferences occur. Generally a language system set against a more complex one yields a greater amount of interference than facilitation. Those structures with all features similar will be easy to learn because they will be trans-

ferred and may function satisfactorily in the foreign language. There is maximum facilitation and minimum interference. Those structures that are different will be difficult because when transferred they will not function satisfactorily in the foreign language. In this case, there is maximum interference and minimum facilitation. However, if in the NL (native language) structures there are some features that will resemble the FL (foreign language), then there is facilitation and those features that are different cause the interference. With new structures, that is without parallel in the NL, there is no transfer nor facilitation; there will be difficulty encountered since the learner has to form new habits of recognizing and producing the new patterns.

The predicted language learning problems were then classified under two types, *reception* and *production* after the comparison. Some patterns were assumed to be easier to recognize than to produce. Then these predicted problems were assigned to different levels of ~~ease~~ and difficulty arranged in ascending order from A to D. To verify the predictions made a special exploratory test was constructed and administered to three hundred Tagalog students in the Philippines. For the reception type, English patterns serve as the stimuli and the students give the Tagalog equivalent, and for the production type, Tagalog patterns serve as the stimuli. For both types we use normal utterances in sentence forms. It is a paper and pencil type of test.

The test results confirmed the predictions made. The proportions of wrong answers increased from Level A through Level D. The differences were statistically significant.

Application of the methodology.

Examples: *Adjective-Noun.*

Pattern Type I.

English A N

beautiful girl

beautiful girls

Tagalog A η N
N η A

maganda η dalaga

dalaga η maganda

magaganda η dalaga

dalaga η magaganda

maηa dalaga η magaganda

maηa magaganda η dalaga

maηa maganda η dalaga

Form:

English. The adjective precedes the noun head (*N*). In many cases the adjective is a derived form, with a noun or verb as stem plus a suffix.

Tagalog. There is a similar construction but there is a particle *η* or *na*¹ which connects the modifier and the head referred to as *N*. These two elements can occur in any order with the *η* or *na* between them. The modifier may be determined by the context. The adjective often occurs in derived form, too.

There is number concordance between the modifier and the *N*: when the head is plural, the adjective must also be plural. However, this change is restricted to the descriptive adjective that denotes quality. The root is reduplicated and in some instances a plural marker *maña* is preposited to the modifier and the head.

e.g. *maña maganda η dalaga*
maña magaganda η dalaga
magaganda η dalaga

Meaning:

English. "When the modifier of a Class 1 word (noun) is a Class 3 word (adjective) the meaning of the modification structure is that of 'quality' to a substance."² However, Fries describes three situations in which special features of the adjective or noun signal meanings other than "quality."

Tagalog. In the sequence *A η N* or *A na N* the modifier restricts the *N*. This pattern is limited to single-word adjectives.

Comparison:

The main differences of the Tagalog pattern from the English are: presence of the conjunctive particle *η ~ na*; order of the modifier and the head is not fixed; reduplication of the modifier or presence of *maña* when the head is in the plural form.

*Problems:**Predictions.*

a. *Reception:* The singular pattern is easier for the Tagalog learner to recognize. The interference lies in the order of the modifier and its head. He must therefore learn that in the

¹*η* is used after a vowel, *n* or glottal stop, and *na* after another consonant.

²Charles C. Fries, *The Structure of English*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1952. p. 221.

English pattern the modifier usually precedes the *N* and there is no particle to connect the modifier and the head. There is more interference in the recognition of the plural pattern because Tagalog has five forms against one form in English. Only the pattern that corresponds to the English pattern causes facilitation and the other forms cause the interference, hence must be controlled. There is relearning involved here.

b. *Production*: For the singular pattern, the Tagalog learner has two patterns so he has to learn to use just that which corresponds to the English form. The derived forms of English will cause much interference because Tagalog uses the prefix *ma-* for most modifiers that indicate quality. First, the learner will have to learn the many different suffixes. Secondly, he will have to learn the different meanings signalled by these suffixes.

For the plural pattern, Tagalog has five forms to equate the one plural form in English. The learner has to learn to control the alternate patterns not needed and make the proper selection of the NL pattern that could be equated to the FL pattern. There will be much relearning involved here. These patterns (singular and plural) are classified in Level C for production whereas for reception in Level B for they are easier to recognize than to produce.

Findings:

a. *Reception*: The singular pattern was easier to recognize than the plural pattern. There were two hundred cases out of three hundred who failed to recognize the plural inflection of the head.

b. *Production*: The singular pattern was easy to produce. For the plural pattern, two hundred and fifty students failed to produce the *-s* inflection of the *N*.

Pattern Type II.

English A A N

big black dog

Tagalog A η A η N

A η N η A

malaki η itim na aso

malaki η aso η itim

Form:

English. Two adjectives before the noun both modifying it. Word order is usually fixed.³

³Some stylistic variation is permitted so that there may sometimes be a change of order on the two adjectives serving as modifiers but both still precede the *N*.

Tagalog. Two adjectives before the noun both modifying it. The order of the modifiers in pre-position to the *N* is not fixed.

Meaning:

English. Quality of substance.

Tagalog. Quality of substance.

Problems:

Predictions.

a. *Reception:* There should be no difficulty for the Tagalog learner in recognizing this English pattern since the meaning is similar and the form involving position (or word order) will be supplied for him. This is therefore an easy pattern for the Tagalog learner. Facilitation occurs in the similarity of meaning and the form with the modifiers preceding the *N*. The interference will be caused by those patterns having the *N* between the modifier or preceding them. Since word order is supplied, the English patterns will be easier to recognize than to produce. This is assigned to Level B.

b. *Production:* The difference in word order will cause much interference so this is a difficult pattern to produce and we assign it to Level C. Since Tagalog permits any order of the modifiers in relation to the *N* while English permits only one, the Tagalog will tend to produce patterns like *black big dog*, *black dog big*, *dog black big*, *big dog*, *black dog*.

Findings:

a. *Reception:* There was a tendency to omit one of the adjectives

e.g. instead of *malaki η puti η aso* 'big white dog'

the common answers were:

(a) *malaki η aso* 'big dog'

(b) *puti η aso* 'white dog'

(c) *aso η malaki* 'big dog'.

b. *Production:* This pattern A A *N* is more difficult to produce than to recognize.

e.g. instead of *old red dress*

the common answers were:

(a) *old dress red*

(b) *old dress that is red*⁴

(c) *old dress of red*

(d) *old dress with color red.*

⁴In the answers (b), (c), and (d) the meaning of the pattern is understood but the form is wrong, hence interference lies in this part.

*Pattern Type III.**English*A-er *N* bigger houseA-est *N* biggest housemore A *N* more beautiful
housemost A *N* most beautiful
house*Tagalog*pinaka-A *N*pinakamalaki *η* bahay
'biggest house'

{	<i>lalo</i>	A <i>kaysa N</i>
	<i>mas</i>	
	<i>labis</i>	
	<i>higit</i>	

e.g.

Si Lita ay *lalo η* marunon
kaysa kay Fe.'Lita is more intelligent
than Fe'*Form:**English.* The English construction has two forms.

- a. adjective with *-er* or *-est* inflection occurs before *N*
- b. *more* and *most* occur in intensifier slot⁵ before A *N*.

Tagalog. The Tagalog construction has also two forms but cannot be directly equated with the English forms.

- a. adjectival stem with the prefix *pinaka-* occurs either before or after the *N*.
- b. *lalo*, *mas*, *labis*, *higit*, occur in the intensifier slot before A *N*.

*Meaning:**English.* The *-er* and *more* constructions indicate 'to a greater extent or degree.'The *-est* and *most* constructions indicate 'to the greatest extent or degree.'*Tagalog.* The *pinaka-* and the *mas*, *lalo*, *higit*, *labis*, occur

⁵The *more* intensifier occurring before a plural *N*, ambiguity may arise due to the fact that *more* indicates plurality as well as intensity. However, the presence of a pause distinguishes the two patterns involved.

e.g.

- more/beautiful houses (plurality)
more beautiful/houses (intensity)

with the derived adjectives which is the *ma-* class denoting quality 'to the greatest extent or degree.'

Problems:

Predictions.

a. *Reception:* The Tagalog learner will have to learn to respond to the inflected forms *-er* and *-est* as they are new. Since the meaning is familiar, facilitation occurs. They are difficult patterns and so we assign them to Level C.

For the English patterns with *more* and *most*, a different kind of problem is involved. In Tagalog the intensifier indicating 'to the greatest extent or degree' is *pinaka-*, a bound morpheme, in contrast to English *most* which is a free morpheme.

<i>English</i>	<i>Tagalog</i>
most A N	pinaka-A N
most beautiful house	pinakamalaki η bahay
	'most big house'
	biggest house

These patterns are easier to recognize than the inflected forms so we assign them to Level B.

b. *Production:* Here the Tagalog learner will have to learn to produce the inflected forms and the intensifiers especially the form indicating 'to the greatest extent or degree.' The learner has only one pattern in his NL, (*pinaka-AN*) which he will tend to equate with the English forms (*A-est N*; *most AN*). He, therefore, produces such forms as **most big house* or **beautifullest house*.⁶ There is facilitation since the meaning is familiar but more interference occurs here than on the reception level especially on the inflected forms which are new to the learner. This is assigned to Level D.

Findings:

a. *Reception.* The pattern (*most A N*) was easier to recognize than (*more A N*).

Instead of *an pinakamaganda η regalo* 'the most beautiful gift'

the common answers were:

- (a) *an pinakamaganda* 'the most beautiful'
- (b) *an maganda* 'the beautiful'
- (c) *an maganda η regalo* 'the beautiful gift.'

Instead of *mas mahirap na leksyon* 'more difficult lesson'

⁶The symbol * indicates a non-English pattern.

- (a) mahirap na leksyon 'difficult lesson'
- (b) pinakamahirap na leksyon 'most difficult lesson'
- (c) mahirap 'difficult'
- (d) mas mahirap 'more difficult.'

b. *Production.*

Instead of *most beautiful house*

- (a) beautifullest house
- (b) beautiful house
- (c) most beautiful
- (d) very beautiful house
- (e) most house.

Instead of *cleaner seat*

the common answers were:

- (a) clean seat
- (b) seat clean
- (c) seat more clean
- (d) seat more cleaner
- (e) seat that is more clean
- (f) seat cleaner
- (g) most clean seat.

The common difficulties of the Tagalog speakers as revealed in their responses are word order, the *-er* or *-est* suffix, tendency to overmark, failure to include the *N*. These are caused by the differences between the Tagalog patterns and the English patterns.

The conclusions and implications made as a result of this study are: (1) there is an effect of previously learned language habits upon foreign language learning; similar elements were found easy and different ones difficult; (2) a comparison of the students' native language and the language to be learned furnishes a basis for better description of the language learning problems involved, preparation of teaching materials, and constructions of tests for diagnostic and evaluation purposes; (3) it is not only possible to predict areas of interference as well as facilitation between the two languages but also to rank them into different levels of ~~ease and~~ difficulty; (4) empirical evidence is helpful in verifying predicted language learning problems and also in unravelling other problems involved; (5) teachers with a knowledge of such problems can be expected to guide their students better. They will understand the cause of an error and be better able to prepare corrective drills; (6) the learning burden can be graded according to difficulty instead of arranging the lesson series in a purely logical sequence.

A NOTE ON THE COMPARATIVE OF FINNISH NOUNS

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The impossibility of applying without exception the grammatical terminology of Greek and Latin to other languages is clearly illustrated by the case of Finnish. A study of that language demonstrates, among other things, the validity of Jespersen's statement that the problem of deciding whether a certain word is a substantive or an adjective must be settled by formal criteria varying from language to language.¹

Hakulinen, Sauvageot, and other specialists in Finnish have called attention to the fact that the comparative endings of adjectives can also be affixed to a number of Finnish nouns.² These scholars give a few examples of the phenomenon in their works on the structure of the Finnish language without going into great detail. In view of the fact that there is no study in English which treats the matter other than those works on language which mention its occurrence in passing, and since even as detailed a dictionary as V. S. Alanne, *Finnish-English Dictionary* (Porvoo-Helsinki, 1956) does not give all the possible examples of the comparative of nouns, the author took the opportunity to collect as many examples of the phenomenon from written texts and from the speech of several informants on two recent trips to Finland.

Before presenting the data on the Finnish comparatives, it will not be out of place to give the traditional definitions of the noun, adjective, and adverb since they have a bearing on the problem under discussion. For Dionysios Thrax, a noun was a part of speech with cases, denoting a thing or an act—a thing such as "stone"; an act such as "education"; termed both common and proper (as *man*, *Socrates*, respectively). According to

¹Cf. Otto Jespersen, *The Philosophy of Grammar* (London, 1925), p. 81. It should perhaps be mentioned that Finnish *syksympähdä*, 'later in the autumn' is misspelled on that same page.

²Lauri Hakulinen, *Suomen kielen rakenne ja kehitys* [The Structure and Development of the Finnish Language], I (Helsinki, 1941-1946), 65-66, 99-100; Aurélien Sauvageot, *Esquisse de la langue finnoise* (Paris, 1949), pp. 42-43.

his definition, five characteristics accompany a noun: genders, species (primary and derived), forms (simple, compound, and derived from compounds, i.e., secondary compounds), numbers, and cases.³ The Greek grammarian's noun-class included the adjective, and the adverb was rather negatively defined as a part of speech without case-inflection, further specifying the verb.

Before Priscian used *adiectiva* of words added to other appellatives, the adjective was not separated from the noun-class but some difference was certainly observed, especially insofar as the comparative endings of the adjective were concerned.⁴ Varro states, for example:⁵

"There are certain words which are like added family names, such as *Prudens* 'prudent', *Candidus* 'frank', *Strenuus* 'brisk', and in them differences may be shown by a suffix, since the quality may be present in them to a greater or a smaller degree: therefore to these words a kind of inflection is attached, so that from *candidum* 'shining white' comes the comparative *candidius* and the superlative *candidissimum*, formed in the same way as similar words from *longum* 'long', *dives* 'rich', and other words of this kind."

However throughout his work, *vocabulum* includes for Varro both noun and adjective, as shown by this passage:

"To be sure some words had to have three several forms, as in this example: masc. *humanus*, fem. *humana*, neut. *humanum* 'human'; but some have only two apiece, like *cervus* 'stag', *cerva* 'hind', and certain others have but one, like *aper* 'boar'; and so on with many others."

Although Dionysius' and Varro's lack of distinction between noun and adjective is more suitable for Finnish than the categories created by later grammarians are for that language, certain difficulties arise when we attempt to force Finnish into the mould of Greek and Latin. Finnish has nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, such as *mies* 'man,' *hyvä* 'good,' and *sangen* 'very,' respective-

³Cf. Louis H. Gray, *Foundations of Language* (New York, 1939), p. 167, and R. H. Robins, *Ancient and Mediaeval Grammatical Theory in Europe* (London, 1951), p. 40.

⁴Cf. Carl Darling Buck, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin* (Chicago, 1948), pp. 168-169.

⁵Varro, *On the Latin Language*, trans. Ronald G. Kent (London, 1951), pp. 385, 407-409, 435.

ly. Words like *suomalainen* 'Finnish, Finn' can be nouns or adjectives, but the same can be said of Spanish *español* 'Spanish, Spaniard' and other languages. An immense difference between Finnish and the Indo-European languages becomes apparent, however, when we consider the fact that some nouns can occur with the same comparative endings as the adjective. To illustrate, the comparative of *nuori* 'young' will be given:⁶

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
Nominative	nuorempi	nuoremmat
Genitive	nuoremman	nuorempien
Accusative I	nuoremman	nuoremmat
Accusative II	nuorempi	nuoremmat
Partitive	nuorempaa	nuorempia
Inessive	nuoremmassa	nuoremmissa
Elative	nuoremmasta	nuoremmista
Illative	nuorempaan	nuorempiin
Adessive	nuoremmalla	nuoremmilla
Ablative	nuoremmalta	nuoremmilta
Allative	nuoremmalle	nuoremmille
Essive	nuorempana	nuorempina
Translative	nuoremmaksi	nuoremmiksi
Abessive	nuoremmatta	nuoremmitta
Comitative	---	nuorempine (plural only)
Instructive	nuoremman	nuoremmiin

As an example of a noun that can appear with the same comparative endings as the adjective, *ranta* 'shore' has the following forms:

Nom.	rannempi	rannemmat
Gen.	rannemman	rannempien
Acc. I	rannemman	rannemmat
Acc. II	rannempi	rannemmat
Part.	rannempaa	rannempia
Iness.	rannemmassa	rannemmissa
Elat.	rannemmasta	rannemmista
Illat.	rannempaan	rannempiin
Adess.	rannemmalla	rannemmilla
Ablat.	rannemmalta	rannemmilta
Allat.	rannemmalle	rannemmille
Essive	rannempana	rannempina
Transl.	rannemmaksi	rannemmiksi

⁶See John B. Olli, *Fundamentals of Finnish Grammar* (New York, 1958), p. 65. For the uses of the Finnish cases, see pp. 136-149.

Abess.	rannemmatta	rannemmitta
Com.	----	rannempine
Instr.	rannemman	rannemmin

Of these forms, the nominative and the two accusatives singular and plural retain more of the substantival quality of the original noun *ranta* in that they can occur respectively as subject or direct object in the Finnish sentence; cf. *rannempi on minun* 'the one closer to the shore is mine.' A larger number of the forms of the comparative of *ranta* can occur in contexts where they would be labeled adjectives by traditional terminology:

rannempi vene	'the boat closer to the shore'
rannemman veneen	'of the boat closer to the shore'
Näetkö tuon rannemman veneen?	'Do you see the boat (which is) closer to the shore?'
Katso tuota rannempaa venettä	'Look at that boat (which is) closer to the shore.'
rannemmassa veneessä	'in the boat closer to the shore'
rannemmasta veneestä	'out of the boat closer to the shore'
rannempaan veneeseen	'into the boat closer to the shore'
rannemmalla veneellä	'on the boat closer to the shore'
rannemmalta veneeltä	'from the boat closer to the shore'
rannemmalle veneelle	'to the boat closer to the shore'
rannemmatta veneettä	'without the boat (which is) closer to the shore'

The plural forms of the above-mentioned cases can likewise occur with adjectival meaning:

rannemmat veneet	'the boats closer to the shore'
rannempien veneiden	'of the boats closer to the shore'
Näetkö nuo rannemmat veneet?	'Do you see those boats closer to the shore?'
Katso noita rannempia veneitä.	'Look at those boats (which are) closer to the shore.'
rannemmissa veneissä	'in the boats closer to the shore'
rannemmista veneistä	'out of the boats closer to the shore'
rannempiin veneisiin	'into the boats closer to the shore'
rannemmilla veneillä	'on the boats closer to the shore'
rannemmilta veneiltä	'from the boats closer to the shore'
rannemmille veneille	'to the boats closer to the shore'
rannemmitta veneittä	'without the boats closer to the shore'

Examples of the essive, translative, and instructive are not given in the above, since examples of the comparative of a noun with adjectival meaning would not ordinarily occur in these cases in ordinary language. The essive and translative do occur, however, with adverbial meaning. The following table will show that certain cases of the singular have adverbial meaning:

Part.	rannempaa	'from closer to the shore'
Illat.	rannempaan	'closer towards the shore'
Adess.	rannemmalla	'closer to the shore'
Ablat.	rannemmalta	'from closer to the shore'
Allat.	rannemmalle	'closer towards the shore'
Essive	rannempana	'closer to the shore'
Trans.	rannemmaksi	'closer towards the shore'

From these examples and the others cited previously we can readily see that the comparative forms of *ranta* 'shore' behave sometimes like nouns, sometimes like adjectives, and sometimes like adverbs.

Before we attempt to draw any conclusions on the basis of these data, we should examine the other words in the language which behave similarly. It will be clear that the adverbial meaning of the comparative of a noun is most frequent; this is in harmony with the structure of Finnish, a language in which many adverbs are actually stereotyped forms of nouns in certain cases.⁷ A number of these words have to do with location. Thus from *perä* 'rear, back' are derived *peremmällä*, *peremmillä* 'further in the back'; *peremmälle*, *peremmäksi*, *peremmillä* 'further towards the back,' and *peremältä*, *peremmillä* 'from further in the back.' From the nouns *laita*, *sivu*, and *reuna* 'side, edge, border,' we have such forms as *laidemmalla*, *laidempana*, *sivummalla*, *sivumpana*, *reunemmalla*, *reunempana* 'closer to the edge'; *laidemmaksi*, *laidemmalle*, *laidempaan*, *sivummaksi*, *sivummalle*, *sivumpaan*, *reunemmaksi*, *reunemmalle*, *reunempaan* 'closer towards the side'; *laidempaa*, *laidemmalta*, *sivumpaa*, *sivummalta*, *reunempaa*, *reunemmalta* 'from closer to the side.' From the noun *pohja* 'bottom' are formed *pohjemmalla*, *pohjempana* 'more at the bottom'; *pohjemmalle*, *pohjemmaksi*, *pohjempaan* 'further towards the bottom'; *pohjemmalta*, *pohjempaa* 'from closer to the bottom.' Whereas the foregoing can be found in several cases, *alku* 'beginning' seems to occur in the comparative degree only in the essive: *alumpana* 'closer to the beginning.'

⁷Cf. Erik Ahlman, "Über Adverbien," *Studia Fennica*, III (Helsinki, 1938), 20-21.

Further examples where location is involved are: *varjompana* 'more in the shade' and *varjompaan* 'toward the place where there is more shade' from *varjo* 'shade.' Similarly, from *latva* 'tree-top' we have *latvempäna* 'nearer the top of the tree,' and from *tyvi* 'lower part of the tree trunk' is derived *tyvempäntä* 'lower down on the trunk.' The nouns denoting the cardinal points can also be found in the comparative degree. In the case of *etelä* 'south,' the distinction between its comparative *etelämpi* '(the one) located further south,' and the comparative of the adjective *eteläinen* 'southern,' namely *eteläisempi* 'more southerly' has become so vague that in certain contexts both comparatives could be used. Cf. *tämä kaupunki on tuota etelämpi* (or *eteläisempi*) 'this city is located further south than that one.' Cf. also *länsi* 'west,' *lännempi* 'the one located further west' (synonymous with *läntisempi*, the comparative of *läntinen* 'western'); and *itä* 'east,' *itämpi* 'located further east' (a synonym of *itäisempi*, the comparative form of *itäinen* 'eastern'). What has been said here of the other cardinal points is not true of the Finnish equivalent of 'north,' since *pohjoinen* 'north, northern' is both noun and adjective at any rate; the noun *pohja* usually means 'bottom' and survives as 'north' chiefly in compounds, viz. *pohjatuuli* 'northerly wind.'

In addition to words relating to place, a number of nouns dealing with time have comparative forms. This is true of the four seasons; thus from *syksy* 'autumn,' we have *syksymmällä*, *syksympäntä* 'later on in the fall,' and *syksymmäksi* 'until later in the fall.' From *talvi* 'winter' are derived *talvemmalla*, *talvempäna* 'later in the winter,' and *talvemmäksi* 'until later in the winter.' Similarly, from *keväät* 'spring' forms such as *kevättämmällä*, *kevättämpäntä* 'later in the spring,' and *kevättämmäksi* 'until later in the spring' are derived; and *kesä* 'summer' gives *kesemmällä*, *kesempäntä* 'later in the summer,' and *kesemmäksi* 'until later in the summer.'

Like the names for the seasons, words for certain parts of the day have comparative forms. *Päivä* 'day' occurs in the comparative forms *päivemmällä*, *päivämpäntä* 'later on in the day,' and *päivemmäksi* 'until later in the day.' From *ilta* and *ehtoö*, both meaning 'evening' are derived *illemmalla*, *illempana*, *ehtoömmällä*, *ehtoömpäna* 'later in the evening,' and *illemmäksi*, *ehtoömmäksi* 'until later in the evening.' Similarly from *aamu* 'morning' are derived *aamummalla* and *aamumpäna* 'more towards the morning,' which seem to be less frequently used than the other forms cited above.

Some of the nouns relating to time have comparatives which seem to be both adjectival and substantival; cf. *illempi* 'the one closer to evening,' *syksympi* 'the one closer to autumn,' and

kevdtampi 'the one closer to spring.' On the other hand, *aiempi* 'earlier,' the comparative of *aika* 'time' would be termed an adjective by traditional standards; cf. *aiempi yritys* 'an earlier attempt.'

Whereas the bulk of the words under consideration relate to either time or place, a few defy classification. For example, the comparative of *lapsi* 'child' has an established use in the essive case as *lapsempana* 'as a smaller child.' The construction is analogous to such uses as *nuorempana* 'being younger, as a younger person,' from *nuori* 'young,' and *vanhempana* 'being older, as an older person' from *vanha* 'old.' Even if one insists that *lapsempana* is really basically temporal in nature, the same could not be said of the comparatives of *ihme* and *kumma*, both meaning 'wonder, marvel.' The forms *ihmeempi*, *kummempi* 'more like a wonder, stranger' can occur in such contexts as: *ei se sen ihmeempi ole* 'it is no more a wonder than that,' i.e., 'it is not stranger than that.' The confusion between noun and adjective is apparent when we see that *ihmeellisempi* 'more wonderful,' the comparative of *ihmeellinen* 'wonderful' could just as well have been used; similarly *kummallisempi* 'more wonderful,' the comparative of *kummallinen* 'wonderful' could have replaced *kummempi*.

The examples cited above show that the lines of demarcation between noun, adjective, and adverb are much more vague in Finnish than in the Indo-European languages. We can set up a classification on the basis of the word-classes based on such criteria as case suffixes, number suffixes, comparative suffixes, superlative suffixes, possessive suffixes, the affixation of the interrogative particle, and agreement with the word modified. Gender is not included here, since Finnish does not have grammatical gender.

1. *Case Suffixes.* Nouns, most adjectives, and some adverbs have case suffixes in Finnish. A small group of adjectives are uninflected: *aika* 'quite,' *aimo* 'thorough,' *aito* 'genuine,' *ensi* 'first,' *eri* 'different,' *koko* 'whole,' *melko* 'rather,' *pikku* 'small,' and *viime* 'last.' As in the case of the comparative forms, many adverbs are in origin nouns in certain cases. Thus some adverbs exist with different case endings: *sisällä*, *sisälle*, *sisältä* 'inside,' *sisältä* 'from the inside'; *ulos*, *ulkona* 'outside,' *ulkoa* 'from the outside'; *täällä* 'here,' *täältä* 'from here,' etc.

2. *Number.* Nouns and adjectives have both singular and plural forms. Some adverbs are plural in origin: *hyvin* 'well'

is an instructive plural; *hyvillttn* 'pleased' is an adessive plural.⁸

3. *Comparative Suffixes.* Adjectives and adverbs of description are found with comparative suffixes. Certain nouns, chiefly indicating time and place plus a few others which are difficult to classify, can appear with comparative suffixes and depending on the context would function as nouns, adjectives, or adverbs.

4. *Superlative Suffixes.* Descriptive adjectives and adverbs occur with these suffixes, as do a few nouns, which have not been treated as yet since they are much less frequent than the nouns with the comparative suffixes. Cf. *rannimmainen* 'nearest the shore,' an adjective in meaning, but coming from *ranta* 'shore' and not the positive of an adjective; *reunimmainen* 'outermost, remotest' with adjectival meaning, but from *reuna* 'edge' plus the superlative adjective ending; *reunimpana* 'farthest towards the edge' with adverbial meaning and likewise formed from the noun *reuna*. Sauvageot, p. 43, also cites *sisimmtdssttn* 'in one's innermost (being, soul, heart),' from *sistl* 'interior,' plus the superlative suffix *-immtl-* plus *-sstl-* the suffix of the inessive case, plus *-tn*, the possessive suffix of the 3rd person reflexive.

5. *Possessive Suffixes.* Possessive suffixes are added to Finnish nouns to indicate possession and correspond to the English possessive adjectives as far as meaning is concerned; cf. *kirja* 'book,' *kirjani* 'my book,' *kirjasi* 'your book,' *kirjamme* 'our book,' etc. Adjectives may appear with these suffixes; cf. *uusi* 'new,' *uuteni* 'my new one.' However adverbs do not appear regularly with these suffixes, some of which even occur as verb endings: cf. *olemma* 'we are.'⁹

6. *The Interrogative Particle.* The particle *-ko* or *-kll* is added to verbs to form questions, but it can also be added to

⁸See Ahlman, *loc. cit.*, pp. 20-21. When the adverb occurs with various case endings, these seem to be always taken from the singular forms of the paradigm; cf. the many comparative forms cited above, and also such forms as *sistllld*, *sistllle*, *sistlln* 'inside' and *sistlltl* 'from inside.' However the instructive plural of the adjective often has an adverbial value: *hyvin* 'well,' *pahoin* 'badly,' from *hyvl* 'good,' *paha* 'bad,' respectively.

⁹Cf. *luonani* 'at my house,' *luonasi* 'at your house,' etc., the essive case of *luo* 'to, towards' plus a possessive suffix, and *luokseni* 'to my house,' the translative case. These words can occur with each of the possessive suffixes; the word *house* is not expressed, as in German *bei mir* 'at my house.'

nouns, adjectives, and adverbs: *kirjako* ? 'the book?', *suuriko* ? 'the big one?', *täälläkö* ? 'here?', at least in informal speech.

7. *Agreement of Modifiers.* Whereas Finnish adjectives with the exception of a small indeclinable group mentioned above agree in case and number with the nouns they modify, the Finnish adverb does not agree in case or number with the word it happens to qualify. Erik Ahlman, p. 20, has shown that this is what distinguishes the adverb from the adjective in Finnish. Thus the same word may be adverb or adjective depending on whether it meets these qualifications; cf. *hyvin rakennetussa talossa* 'in a well-built house' where *hyvin* is an adverb, but *hyvin aikomuksin* 'with good intentions' where *hyvin* is an adjective in the instructive plural, agreeing with its noun.

It is of course necessary to look at the close relationship between noun, adjective, and adverb in the comparative degree in the framework of the structure of the Finnish language. Not only are nouns and adjectives declined alike, but the two parts of speech often share the same typical endings, as Hakulinen, p.65 has shown. Thus we have such forms as *nainen* 'woman,' *punainen* 'red'; *kytkyt* 'fastening, collar,' *lyhyt* 'short'; *opas* 'guide,' *karvas* 'bitter,' to cite just a few examples. As far as the relationship between noun and adverb is concerned, it has already been mentioned that many adverbs are derived from nouns in certain cases (usually the locative cases). Thus we witness a development of noun to adverb without the intermediary of the adjective (cf. the rare example of French *nuitemment* 'nightly' from *nuite* 'night' for which there is no corresponding adjective of the same root).

As for the Finnish comparative, we can observe a development from noun to comparative adjective, comparative adverb and sometimes comparative substantive which completely bypasses the adjective in the positive degree in the process. This may be illustrated thus in a comparison with English:

Noun	Adjective	Comparative Adj.	Comparative Adverb
man	manly	manlier	manlier
ranta		rannempi	rannemmaksi
'shore'		'closer to the shore'	'closer to the shore'

We see that there is no adjective with the meaning 'close to the shore.' The intimate relationship between noun and adverb makes it possible for the development of *lapsi* 'child' into *lapsenmä*

'as a younger child' without recourse to adjectives in the positive or comparative. The same is true of other words discussed in this paper; in the semantic development of *alku* 'beginning' into *alumpana* 'closer to the beginning,' the existence of such a form as *alussa* 'in the beginning' (the inessive case of *alku*) must have played a part; *alumpana* is after all the comparative of *alussa* from the semantic point of view rather than of the noun *alku*.

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AN INTENSIVE LANGUAGE COURSE IN GUATEMALA

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0. In 1957, while working on the analysis of the Quiché Indian language in Guatemala, I received an invitation to teach Quiché to a group of North American missionaries. This paper¹ is a description of the course as prepared and taught, giving 1) aims and approach, 2) course development, 3) an evaluation of certain aspects of the course, and 4) summary.

1. Aims and approach.

My primary objective was to teach the students to speak Quiché and understand it, and anything else (such as reading or composition) I looked upon primarily as a means to attaining this objective, rather than as an end in itself.

Since I had a limited amount of time to spare for this particular assignment, I sought to make the course as intensive as possible. This "intensiveness" I conceived of as having more to do with the *kind* of language experience provided for the students than with the *amount* of experience (in terms of hours spent in language study).

My own recent experience in language learning had been that of a descriptive linguist studying and analyzing a new (to me) language from scratch, and as that same linguist attempting to pick up a second language which is employed as the "official" language of the country. I was impressed by the fact that 1) I had assimilated both languages much more rapidly than I had ever assimilated a language in a class-room situation, and that 2) this seemed to be due to a constant interchange of linguistic activities, namely "speaking" and "hearing," "analysis" (or "grammar"), "reading," and "composition" in the course of my language learning, and that 3) the actual *use* of the language in social situations powerfully reinforced the rest of my language

¹This paper was written at the University of Michigan in 1960 during the course of my studies for the M.A. in linguistics. I am grateful to Professor Eastman of the English Department for patiently reading various drafts of the manuscript and making recommendations as to format, content, etc., and to my colleague, Dr. Marvin Mayers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for additional suggestions.

learning. With this experience in mind I set up the course in Quiché conversation and grammar in such a way as to offer everything possible in the way of language experience right from the start. I intended that elements of language reproduction, usage, listening, writing, grammar, etc., should all be taught together to obtain the greatest possible degree of reinforcement.²

2. Course development.

2.1 Initial class periods were taken up with an introduction to the Quiché sound system.³ I first compared Quiché phonemes with English and Spanish phonemes wherever they showed a marked phonetic similarity (and in some cases where there is a marked contrast, as between Amer-English /k/ at velar position, and Quiché /q/ at back-velar position).⁴ This comparison I followed with a detailed description of the individual sounds in terms of the articulatory mechanism. In subsequent lessons the sounds were repeated and drilled carefully as a part of the daily lesson plan. The students were required to learn the sounds as they are actualized in utterance-initial, medial and final positions (the points at which, in Quiché, significant positional variants can be recognized).

I then taught the general stress pattern of the language (which is predictable and relatively easy to learn), and the more basic intonation patterns.⁵ Mimicry was stressed as being the

²It should be pointed out that this differs considerably from one of the basic tenets of those who hold to the "oral-aural" approach in language teaching: "...that a second language...is most naturally acquired in its spoken form and that a solid and lasting ability to read a language best results from previous acquisition of that speech which its written form symbolizes. Thus the ear and tongue are to be trained first, and the eye later," Agard, Frederick B., and Dunkel, H. B., *An Investigation of Second Language Teaching* (Boston: Grimm, vii, 1948), p. 281 ff.

³This is the only part of the course in which we did not deliberately teach a number of items simultaneously.

⁴I take it that Professor Gleason would consider this poor procedure. Note his comment: "Some state pronunciations in terms of English equivalents with little or no qualification. Even when competently done (a rare case!) this can be misleading." H. A. Gleason, *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics*, "Phonemic Problems in Language Learning," (Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1955), p. 258. I feel, however, that comparison and contrast between phonemes or larger linguistic units can be most useful in language teaching, (cf. footnote 9).

⁵Less frequently occurring intonation patterns were introduced later in the course.

easiest means to an automatic command of intonation and stress patterns.

Drill on the sound system was primarily in the form of dictation exercises (for sound recognition and writing)⁶ and mimicry of the phonemes as they occurred in the various utterance positions. The latter was accomplished with the aid of taped recordings by a Quiché informant. In addition to this, each student received individual help in the reproduction of any sounds with which he was having difficulty.⁷

To further aid the students in becoming fluent in Quiché, I assigned them storiottes to memorize and tell to the class. The idea behind this type of exercise was that, with the story well in mind, the student could devote his undivided attention to intonation, stress features, and careful articulation of individual sounds.

2.2 With a good start on the sound system, the students were ready to begin conversing in Quiché. The class activities and outside assignments from this point on were almost completely oriented to the "conversation text" with which each lesson began.

The students first *heard* this conversation on tape in its entirety while they followed it in its written form on their lesson sheets. The conversation was then repeated on the same tape, but space was allowed after each utterance for the students to *mimic*. After having opportunity to mimic the informant, the students, by turns, *read* the conversation material aloud from the lesson sheets, striving to reproduce the expressions as they had heard them on tape.

The learning of this same language material was further reinforced by having the students dramatize the conversations. Since this artificial type of situation was strictly limited in conversation potential, the students could employ their newly acquired expressions without embarrassment. They had the assurance that what they said would elicit a response to which they, in turn, could reply.

After the students had gained some confidence and facility in the language, I gave them "conversation assignments" in which they were required to engage the Indians in conversation, and then report to the class, giving, as nearly as possible, the expressions which they (and the native speaker) had employed.

⁶The orthography which we used is an adaptation to Spanish, and, in this case, was a type of orthography completely familiar to the students (all of whom had studied Spanish).

⁷The methodology in teaching Quiché phonetics is that used in the courses of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

By means of these conversation assignments, the students were forced into using their newly acquired language material with the natives. This activity, by virtue of its social context, served to reinforce the language material learned in the classroom, and increased the self-confidence of the students.

2.3.1 In addition to the reinforcing elements already mentioned above (reading, mimicry, dramatization and social contacts), I encouraged memory work. This memory work was not, however, the memorizing of lists of vocabulary items out of context. Rather I encouraged the memorizing of entire expressions (taken from the "conversation texts") and vocabulary items, only as they might substitute for one another in these expressions as frames. Since the conversation texts treated of the various activities of tribal life in which the class members were most likely to participate, the student, by memorizing the expressions from these texts, provided himself with a nucleus of language material for each of these situations. These "language nuclei" then provided the starters which the student could expand by accretion, even after formal course work had ended.

2.3.2 Not only did I encourage memory work, but also "aural" exercises. To this end the students were assigned daily "listening hours" in which I required them to listen with concentration to a native speaker of Quiché for a stipulated period of time.⁸ The listening assignments were "graded" in the following manner: The first few assignments required the students only to identify any speech forms they could, and to write them down. I later made this assignment more explicit by asking them to transcribe a specified number of words together with their meanings. Following that I required them to write short *résumés* in English, and, later on in the course they wrote these *résumés* in Quiché.

2.4 Grammatical principles to be taught in each lesson were taken from the conversation texts. Since the conversations were not invented to fit the grammar or otherwise simplified, they often included a great deal more (and more complex) grammar than I cared to teach in any one lesson. Ignoring whatever I did not wish to teach at a given point in the course, I selected principles of grammar and taught them in graded sequence, beginning with the more frequently occurring and/or most produc-

⁸This listening could be done via tape recorder, through listening to Indian teachers in the Quiché Bible Institute (operated by the missionaries who took the course), or by listening in on conversations in the village.

tive constructions. I then drilled these basic patterns of grammatical structure both in class and outside of class with exercises which were principally translation from Amer-English to Quiché. In teaching grammatical principles I compared and contrasted Quiché and English structures at every opportunity, hoping that this would help to reinforce learning of the new patterns⁹ (cf. 2.1 of this paper).

3. Evaluation.

3.1 Social reinforcement of language behavior.

I think that I can safely say that the strongest reinforcement in language-learning is the use of the language in social contexts, for language *is* social; its end is communication with others for the purpose of satisfying group and personal needs. The conversation texts we used were just such "social situations" on paper, situations in which the student first participated vicariously. The dramatizing of these conversations then enabled the students to experience these situations in a quasi-realistic manner, while the conversation assignments offered social reinforcement of language behavior in real-life situations.¹⁰

3.2 Reinforcement by reading.

Additional reinforcement of new language patterns was obtained by the introduction of "reading" as a visual stimulus (2.2), correlated with "hearing" and "mimicry." I give this separate mention here because this is not generally accepted procedure. Mary Haas, for example, in her article "The Linguist as a Teacher of Languages,"¹¹ asserts that one of the basic assumptions of her method is that "speaking must come before reading."¹² Frederick Agard, in his description of the Cornell language program, seems to imply that speaking should precede reading. He says, "...if they [the students] are also going to read the language they will become more efficient and more ap-

⁹This is a method strongly emphasized by Charles C. Fries in his English language course for foreign students: C. C. Fries, *Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language* English Language Institute Publications, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1954

¹⁰Similar to the "sen-sit" method of Richards and Gibson of Harvard University. The term "sen-sit" is used to refer to the presentation of words in proper verbal and non-verbal contexts, i.e. in a sentence and in a situation: John Carroll, *The Study of Language* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 184.

¹¹Mary R. Haas, "The Linguist as a Teacher of Languages," *Language*, 19:203-208, (1943).

¹²*Op. Cit.*, p. 207.

preciative readers through first acquiring a degree of oral skill." And he includes this as one of the assumptions which, he says, are "...the permanent assumptions of many linguists as regards language learning."¹³ However, this prejudice against reading in the early stages of language learning seems to be primarily "orthographical" (at least in Agard's case). He goes on to say, in this same article, that "...the learner of Spanish, while hearing and imitating his very first utterances, may safely look at a written representation of those utterances in normal Spanish spelling." Presumably this is possible because the Spanish orthography is close to phonemic.

If this is primarily a problem of orthographies it can be solved with little difficulty. Enough specialists in descriptive linguistics are available nowadays that it should not be too difficult to obtain language materials written in a phonemic notation. Since, in Quiché, I was able to offer just such phonemically written materials to the students, I made it a point to use these materials from the start as a part of the total reinforcement of linguistic responses. In my opinion there is no adequate reason for excluding reading in the initial stages of language learning.

3.3 Reinforcement through composition.

As reading is "visual hearing," so writing is another form of "speaking." Although not having the associated stimulus of a social context, it serves to reinforce the ability to "manipulate" the structure of the language (in terms of forms and their arrangement), while at the same time reinforcing "memory" of those forms.

3.4 Reinforcement by listening.

The theory behind the "listening hours" was that they should be concerned with "active" not "passive" listening. A student

¹³Frederick B. Agard, "The Cornell Language Program," *Hispania* 32:27-34, (1949), p. 27. The following is the context of the above quotations, together with the quote itself:

(3) if they [college students] are going to learn to speak the language, they must be specifically taught to speak it, and specific instruction in speaking means imparting to them a set of *speech habits* which they can acquire only through intensive and constant practice of a mechanical nature, through imitation and repetition; (4) if they are also going to read the language, they will become more efficient and more appreciative readers through first acquiring a degree of oral skill; but, at the same time, they cannot be expected to become automatically good readers without specific instruction and practice in reading. The above assumptions may be regarded as the permanent assumptions of many linguists as regards language teaching.

may be exposed to an hour or two of foreign language material over a headset and benefit little or not at all if he is only listening passively. The requirement that listening be active, i.e. that a student be assigned to listen for specific items and write out what he hears, takes fullest advantage of his potential for auditory perception. In this course the listening assignments were an important factor in developing the language comprehension of the students in a relatively short period of time.

3.5 Mimicry and memorization.

Mimicry and memorization I consider to be an integral part of any language course, but not the intensive hours of drill where the students listen and repeat language materials in an atmosphere that offers little natural reinforcement of linguistic responses. Such time can be better spent in activities which correlate the language data with socio-cultural situations or with associated "linguistic" activities such as reading and composition.

4. Summary.

The procedure in teaching Quiché which I have described here is some sort of "combined approach," including elements of the well-known "sen-sit," "oral-aural," and "mim-mem" methods,¹⁴ as well as certain features common to some of the older approaches. As has already been mentioned, it is an approach intended to give the students everything at once in the way of language experience by means of a constant interchange of language-learning activities, namely "speaking" and "hearing," "grammar" (or "analysis"), "reading," and "composition," together with the reinforcement of the "social context." In this sense the course was most "intensive," and the students, instead of being overwhelmed by the variety of language elements they were expected to control simultaneously, seemed to be stimulated to an unusual degree.

Results of the course (which lasted for about eleven weeks, and included approximately sixty classroom hours) were, for the most part, very satisfying, and serve to enforce my initial hypothesis that students learning a second language should receive everything possible in the way of language experience right from the start of the course.

¹⁴The "sen-sit" method was developed at Harvard; the University of Michigan used the "oral-aural" approach; Cornell has had success with the "mim-mem" (mimicry-memorization) approach: John B. Carroll, *Op. Cit.*, chapter 6.

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LANGUAGE AND LIFE IN THE U.S.A., Gladys G. Doty and Janet Ross. Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Company, 1960. Pp. xii, 621.

This ambitious textbook for teaching English as a foreign language was designed, the authors declare in their preface, "...for those who have some knowledge of English as a second language but who need to improve their skills in order to get along with ease in an English speaking society." Later in the preface the authors add, "The entire book is an attempt to increase the student's facility in English rapidly by teaching several skills at once." By thus striving to do many things at once the authors have made their book flexible, but at the same time they have failed to focus clearly on important matters and to treat them with care.

Besides the preface, acknowledgments and various lists and indices, there are four parts which make up the main body of this work. Part I may be described as a reading and drill book for students who have already studied a little English. Part II is readings in American life and institutions. Part III is a fairly long account of English morphology and syntax. Part IV is an account of English phonology. Since the lessons in Part I refer constantly to Parts III and IV for fuller explanation of the grammar and pronunciation points at hand, the reviewer has elected to discuss these three parts together, and then to review Part II separately.

Part I contains twenty lessons with five review chapters. Each lesson begins with a reading selection. These readings are not all of a piece. There is a running story about Ted and Elizabeth who have various adventures and finally get engaged in chapter XX, but interspersed here and there, interrupting the progress of their relationship, are readings on other topics: The Star-Spangled Banner, Paul Bunyan, Honest Abe and the like. The reason for this sequence was not clear to me.

Generally the readings are fresh and flowing, but there are some grammatical rough spots. The sentence *She kept a tight hold of his hand* (page 91) is not idiomatic for me. The following passage (page 165) would surely earn an 'F' in most courses of elementary rhetoric: (Ted has been pressed into service as baby sitter and cook for two boys.) *Compared with the boys' mother's cooking Ted wasn't wonderful, but the youngsters thought it was lots more fun to have him do it.*

The questions that follow each reading selection strike me as rather difficult and expensive in class time. Many of them

are of that curious kind that occur only in teaching grammars: *When does a handsome young man come through the gate?* (page 8) *Why did he grumble that his friend had forgotten to keep his fingers crossed?* (page 74) *Without whose help would the expedition have been a failure?* (page 131).

The authors' explanations of grammar points, and the types of drills they use to teach the grammar points, are so varied that it is difficult to tell what their philosophy of grammar and language learning is.

They occasionally employ high-flown terminology out of an older tradition: "Relative adverbs in adjective clauses" and "Relative adverbs in noun clauses used as objects."

They sometimes employ appeals to the intellect to explain the grammar, but these sometimes don't explain. One explanation, for example, (page 9) declares that "... *It is* expresses a condition that is true at the moment" while "*There is (are)* expresses a general truth." In the illustrative examples that follow are the items *It is time for a rain* and *There are fifty people in this room*. In what sense does the first of these items express a condition true at the moment and the second a general truth?

The authors often rely on several examples to make the point that is to be drilled on. In these cases they have sought to find contexts that compel a choice of one or the other term of a grammatical category, as when they attempt to correlate verb categories with time adverbs. The difficulty with this procedure is that verb categories are not always correlated with time expressions. Verb markers must occasionally bear the entire load of signalling time; otherwise they would be completely redundant.

Now and then the authors simply abandon any attempt to explain the grammar, contenting themselves with some such direction as, "Use... [such-and-such] correctly in the following." If this sort of thing works, one wonders a little maliciously, why not just say, "Use English correctly and fluently from now on."

Sometimes it is not just the authors' presentation of grammar that is at fault, but their conception of the grammar itself. The discussion of *may* and *can*, for example, (page 74-75) never brings out the significant points: that there are two varieties of *may* which are distinguished suprasegmentally, that one of them is a synonym of *can*, but that these synonyms occur in different speech styles.

More serious is the authors' failure to check carefully the forms implied by some of their drills. If I correctly understand

the drill on page 117, the student is expected to produce the forms *He had hoped to have gone today* and *We expected to have stayed longer*. (The model sentence for this drill is *They expected to have gone yesterday*.) These items are incomprehensible to me.

The account of morphology and syntax in Part III is laid out in paradigms, examples, explanations and further drills—again the effort to press into service any kind of explanatory device that suggests itself.

The phonology, Part IV, is really a little book on English phonetics, with charts, lists and drills. The authors adopt the convention of marking intonation with a black line above, directly under, and one space below the line of type. They do not mark any stress but primary and they rely on conventional punctuation to mark the junctures. This is a little confusing to the reader who has been schooled in four of everything.

There are specific things that one readily objects to in Parts III and IV, things such as the paradigms of sentence types and verbs (pages 339-41) in which *shall* is given as a future marker; in which *I don't work* is derived from *I do work*. (*I work* has no negative form in these paradigms.) But it is not easy to give a coherent, general criticism of these last two parts of the book, or of the presentation of grammar points and phonological facts in Part I, for on what principles was this organization based?

This book has appeared within the era of transformation, but without the insights of the new era. In a negative way the book impresses the reader with the great promise of transformation and generation. It is a promise with implications for both organization and method in the teaching of second languages.

Up to now we have lacked any theoretical framework for the fitting in of grammatical facts. In the sequence of grammar presentation we have supposed that we were operating with two guiding notions: the idea that some forms are more common than others and should thus come earlier; and the idea that some forms are necessary to an understanding of others and should thus come earlier. So we have thought. But the truth is that we had no reliable count of the frequency of pieces of grammar; nor did we have any workable theory to tell us what parts of grammar were prior to other parts. And we could not even be sure that these two notions were not contradictory. The sequential presentation of grammar up to now has been intuitive, as I take it to be in the present work.

What is needed is a clear conception of the grammar, a conception that has a beginning, an end and clear steps that

lead from the beginning to the end. The idea of a generative-transformational grammar, with its few simple sentence types which through transformational rules lead to the most complex types of sentences, promises to give us the conception we need.

It is even probable that the process of transformation itself is a highly useful teaching device, at least for some aspects of the system. And to set up a transformation in two lists of expressions that are translatable into each other is in itself a fairly good explanation to the student of the problem in grammar at hand.¹ (The authors' use of expressions like "Relative adverbs in noun clauses used as objects" is a roundabout way of indicating a rather complex double-base transformation. It would be clearer just to present the matter as a proportional drill.)

Transformations of many kinds, then, may turn out to be the best presentation and drill for many kinds of grammar contrasts. But no doubt there will be a residue of problems that will have to be explained and drilled in other ways. Some problems, like the matter of countable and non-countable nouns will probably have to be handled through pure appeals to the intellect. (But these should make sense. Somebody might be listening.)

Problems like the contrast of simple form vs. -ing form in the verbs seem to be best explained and taught (at least in those with tangible action as referent) with a pure testing procedure (as the authors recognize: Do you smoke? Are you smoking?).

As for a presentation of the facts of phonology, at least in teaching the varying shapes of suprasegmental envelopes, there is hope for a new conception of what is to be done, hope arising here and there in linguistics from speculation on the nature of texts and the connections among sentences in speech and dialog. One may settle on a 'normal' shape of the suprasegmental envelope worn by a particular sentence (a simple or highly transformed one), then show how these envelopes are influenced and changed by the form of the sentence above. This idea and its implications for teachers of English are dimly seen in speculation on contrastive stress, and on the variant syntactical shapes of complex sentences containing several kinds of adverbials, for example. It is beginning to seem possible that generative grammar may find it convenient to leave off generating at some point, and to supplement the generative grammar with a grammar of

¹I have tried to show in my article "Proportional Drill as a Technique for Teaching Grammar," LANGUAGE LEARNING X, 3-4, 1960, how a transformation and its subsumed obligatory transformations may be organized for teaching.

the allo-sentences that occur in certain environments in texts and dialogs.

We do not *know*, of course, whether a generative grammar, slightly modified, would be a better teaching grammar than books like the present one. (And it is unfair to accuse the present book of leaving out something it did not intend to include.) But the conception of grammar that transformation-generation apparently can furnish, along with the kinds of explanation and drill that such a conception may suggest, is too promising to be ignored. Such work will be done.

Part II of the book consists of twenty-five essays on American society and its institutions. Along with each essay there are questions about the reading, various kinds of exercises for word study, and suggestions for compositions. The essays struck me as quite well written, though some are much better than others.

Besides the purpose of improving the student's ability to read and write, these essays have another clear, but unstated, purpose: to indoctrinate the foreign student with a favorable view of the U.S. and its people. I concede that the teacher of EFL, and the textbooks he uses, have an important role to play in the cold war. But I question whether essays of this kind are the best way to play that role. If I were a student from any country, studying in any other country, I would resent having to read things like this.

The essays that Doty and Ross have written are not crude propaganda. They are, in fact, the sanest and best of this kind of thing that I have read. They are informative, fairly objective and rather calmly presented. But there is no doubt that they present a slightly rosier picture of American life than actuality warrants. There is no mention in them of the slum jungles, of the massive conformity on both left and right in American thinking, of vigilantism, of the American tendency to look upon other cultures as either sinister or picturesque.

The essays that touch on racial and religious tensions in America are careful and optimistic. Reading them, one feels that the flaws in the American social process are about to be mended. The nameless Negro who is said to have written essay number 24, on the Negro in America, was a tame Negro indeed. One wonders what King or Wilkins or Ellison would have done with this subject.

The whole section, as such sections always do, puts the foreign student on the defensive. Some of the topics for com-

position seem to invite him to compare some aspect of his own system unfavorably with the American.

Is this really the best way to win friends?

Mightn't it be better to present the worst? Mightn't we profitably begin by stating what our conception of the good society is, then tick off point-by-point what remains to be done in the United States to achieve this society? Such a stance would at least put the book and the teacher on the side of aspiration. It would also eliminate any suspicion that the student is being manipulated or deceived, as he usually is in 'orientation.'

Perhaps an even better program would be an orientation for the teacher. Then just give the foreign student something like an almanac of facts and let him come to his own conclusions. Or better yet, just let him alone.

As for the undeniably good features of American life, surely the foreign student can see them for himself. The recent American presidential election with its order, its minority group victor, its spectacle of the loser (who was not shot, imprisoned or banished) shaking hands under no duress with the victor and wishing him well—surely all this spoke more clearly than volumes of 'orientation.'

Many Americans seem to fear that the general tone of honesty, reform, hope and fair play that pervades the American scene will escape the foreigner. It must be pointed out to him constantly.

I feel that American society usually earns the foreign person's respect; I feel that the American hunger for approval does not.

This book is mostly of that long tradition of grammar-making that has produced hundreds of textbooks for teaching French, Spanish, German and English as second languages. It makes concessions, and important concessions, to the newer learning and outlook. Its debt to C. C. Fries, which is acknowledged, and to the University of Michigan, are patent in many ways.

The book sins in giving the student too much undirected work to do. It does not focus clearly on some problems of grammar, and it often makes only the merest gesture toward an explanation of the subject at hand. It makes no attempt to keep speech styles separate, or even to point out that they exist. (Sentences like *I haven't any* and *Have you any overalls?* exist alongside *That's what you think* and *I think I can do business with you.*)

This is perhaps the last really ambitious book for teaching English that will ignore the ideas streaming from the transformationists.

But *LANGUAGE AND LIFE IN THE U.S.A.* is by no means to be dismissed for its sins, which after all are the sins of the tradition of which it is a part.

Much careful labor went into this book. On every page one feels the enthusiasm of two dedicated people who enjoy their work and think it important. In the hands of competent teachers this can, and no doubt will, be widely and usefully employed in teaching English as a second language.

Richard Gunter
University of Illinois

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A New Latin Syntax. E. C. Woodcock. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959.

The specific goal of *A New Latin Syntax* is to provide for the needs of students in an intermediate or advanced Latin composition course. There is a series of chapters on cases, including a chapter on the infinitive mood and the accusative and infinitive in *oratio obliqua*. Woodcock examines the subjunctive in independent clauses before discussing subordinate clauses and then proceeds to consider clauses, relative, generic, consecutive, etc. The chapter on impersonal verbs, not constituting a major difficulty for students, is placed rather late in the book. The position of his chapter on subordinate clauses in *oratio obliqua*, the next to last one, seems warranted. A solid grasp of the essentials of cases and moods is thus encouraged before the presentation of such intricacies.

This syntax is obviously intended for advanced students, able to recast their thought into Latin. Perhaps the prose they would retranslate as an exercise is but a translation of a Latin author. The implication is that the students' sentences would evolve naturally into the same mold as those of the Latin author. Woodcock is anxious to equip the learner as soon as possible with "the means to express common ideas in sentences which a reasonable human being might be expected to utter." There is little to quibble with on this score, for his selection of quotations and his translations are notable for their precision and pertinence to the area in which he includes them.

Woodcock's descriptive terminology is standard and traditional. His is primarily a diachronic approach, which also includes eclectic techniques not necessarily historical. He attempts throughout, with his synchronic parallels, to make apparent expectations to *a posteriori* rules conform to an historical rationale. To explain historical or coeval inconsistencies, he gives as full a diachronic account as possible, including all those of disputable origins, and then he analyzes their provenance as being rational extension, illogical analogy or formal extension. Woodcock suggests that constant exposure to this profusion of examples, and exceptions thereto, will sharpen and broaden the students' language skills, in English as well as Latin. He presents, however, no definite program for English.

In his introduction he highlights the possible dangers of the "faulty signposts" of a synchronic analysis which might end in the "drawing up of lists of antecedents or the memorization of meaningless rules." He illustrates his point by considering the jussive subjunctive, the optative and *oratio obliqua*, so full of

contradictions even in the writers of the Silver Age. Mere mnemonic devices do not suffice in the attempt to grasp these concepts fully. Woodcock, once again, obviously implies a sophisticated and mature attitude in the language student who would use his book.

Mr. Woodcock seems to quarrel with modern educational ideas: "Modern pupils, many of whom have been handicapped at the primary stage by the banning of formal grammar by educational cranks, do not know what syntax is for. It seems to be thought nowadays that understanding of syntax is something that grows with the flesh." This precept, and his refusal to "keep awkward examples dark," makes him appear suspiciously heretic to modern linguists anxious to be free of the fetters of an analysis, excellent for Latin, or perhaps German, but stultifying when applied to English. He proves himself substantially erudite, accurate and respectable throughout his work, however. Our comprehension of English syntax is indeed something that grows with the flesh, thus making Latin and more involved inflectional language systems somewhat difficult to approach. This, by the way, is his way of making the study of Latin more easily understood. That is, he explores how the writers "felt" one mode of expression to express their meaning more succinctly than another, despite seemingly rigid rules.

This extremely well organized study of Latin syntax suffers but one serious omission, pedagogical attitudes set aside. There are no sample sentences provided. More sentences illustrative of his order and purpose might render it a more supple classroom asset. As it stands, his book is an excellent reference grammar for the shelf of any language teacher. A Romance scholar can also find himself afforded many brilliant clarifications of syntactical problems, useful to him in explaining similar situations in the Romance tongues. A Romance comparatist would find himself well provided for with a wealth of material bound to make his footing more sure. Woodcock's extensive indexing and complete bibliographical references are of great value. Lacking Woodcock's obviously long classroom experience, a teacher would discover innumerable difficulties in manipulation of this syntax as a classroom text.

Donald A. Murray
Colgate University

NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

THE RESEARCH CLUB IN LANGUAGE LEARNING has recently published LANGUAGE LEARNING Special Issue No. 2, *Linguistics and the Teacher*, Proceedings of the May 14, 1960 Meeting of the Michigan Linguistic Society. This issue includes the following papers with discussions: "What is Structural about Structural Linguistics?," James W. Downer; "Area Linguistics and the Teacher of English," Hans Kurath; "Linguistics and English Composition," Albert H. Marckwardt; "Linguistics and Foreign Language Teaching," Robert Lado. Copies are fifty cents (\$.50) each.

Copies of LANGUAGE LEARNING Special Issue No. 1, *Linguistics and the Teaching of English as a Foreign Language*, Report on a Conference Held at the University of Michigan July 28-30, 1957, are still available at eighty-five cents (\$.85) each.

In addition to Special Issues, The Research Club also publishes Selected Articles. Selected Articles from LANGUAGE LEARNING, Series I English as a Foreign Language, No. 1 was published in 1953. Copies are one dollar and ninety cents (\$1.90) each.

In preparation at the present time is Selected Articles from LANGUAGE LEARNING, Series I English as a Foreign Language, No. 2. This will include articles from Volume IV through Volume X.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE INSTITUTE of the University of Michigan annually offers a number of fellowships and scholarships for advanced study in the field of teaching English as a foreign language. These awards, made available through a grant from the Ford Foundation, are intended for teachers and students who wish to work toward the M.A. degree in Teaching English as a Foreign Language. The M.A. program includes courses in the following areas: phonological and grammatical structure of modern English, problems and methods of teaching English as a foreign language, American Studies or courses in the language and culture of the countries in which the students plan to teach. The program usually requires two semesters and one summer session of full-program study.

Applicants must be accepted for admission to the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies. Applications, transcripts

and three letters of recommendation must be submitted by March 1, 1962. For further information and application forms write to: Admissions Officer, English Language Institute, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.

THE MICHIGAN LINGUISTIC SOCIETY held its 1961 Spring Meeting on May 13 at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Nine papers dealing with coenetics, historical linguistics, discourse analysis, Japanese, Russian and Persian were presented by members of the society.

The Fall Meeting is to be held at Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, in November. Papers for this meeting may be submitted by sending two copies of a one-page abstract to Carol Kreidler, Secretary-Treasurer, 2001 North University Building, Ann Arbor, Michigan. No paper should exceed twenty minutes in length.

THE EDITOR OF *LANGUAGE LEARNING* wishes to correct an error which appears in the last issue, Vol. X, Nos. 3 and 4. In the article 'The Structure of Two-Word Verbs in English' by Abdul Karim Taha, the two sentences which appear as lines 8 and 9 of page 116

Mỹ wâtch hâs rùn dówn #

Gèt dówn | fròm thât chấir #

should have appeared as lines 3 and 4, thus forming part of the author's Group (1), Intransitive Constructions. Our apologies to author and readers.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

This list constitutes acknowledgement for all publications received by *Language Learning* and not previously acknowledged. As space permits, reviews will be printed of those publications which make special contributions to the application of the principles and results of scientific language study to the practical problems of teaching and learning languages.

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